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Lest People Forget

Yaroslav Halan

Записник 5 квітня

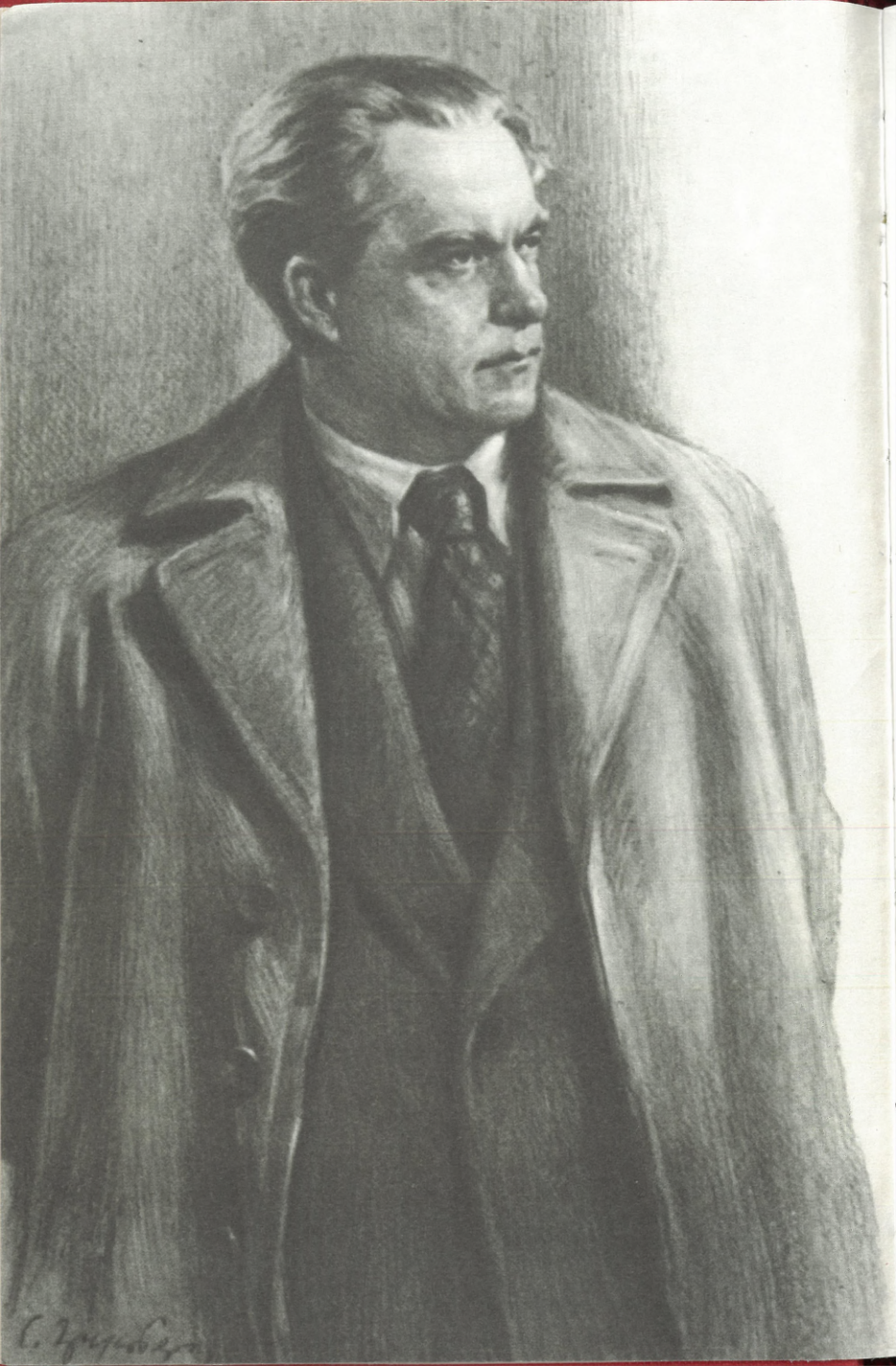
– „Гітлер довіряє
повністю генерал
Кейтелю." (Кейтель
– В грудні 1941 опер
ював (Кейтель) на
полі бою вже 6

Записник 5 квітня

Кейтель: „Ген. штаб
во-політичне керівництво
повністю краще, ніж
все передбачали інші
у Гітлера...
– про генеральний
ген. полковник.
„Мені Гітлер
дав повну довіру
так що полковник
– Кейтель ніколи
більш ніжною. Гітлер

Yaroslav
Halan

Lest People Forget



Yaroslav Halan

Lest People Forget

Pamphlets,
articles
and reports

Kiev
Dnipro Publishers
1986

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Г15

Ярослав Галан

ЛЮДСТВО ПАМ'ЯТАЄ!

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OUR MEMORY KNOWS NO OBLIVION

Of all my recollections of childhood there is one event that became engraved in my memory forever. It was what is called *provody* in Ukrainian, the first Sunday after Easter when our villagers commemorated their dead at the cemetery outside the village that has been nestling to the Styr River in Volhynia for ages. The whole community turned out for this occasion, but my aunt Serafima Volianik did neither dress a grave nor lay out on it the customary Easter bread and Easter eggs. She had had three children, but she did not know where they were buried. We children who had lived through the war could not understand why she had wept so bitterly that day. It was only much later that I grasped the enormity of her grief. Her elder son died in 1939 — he had served in the Polish Army and was reported missing in action when nazi Germany attacked Poland. Her second son of sixteen was taken with all our menfolk to Germany for slave labor in August 1943 and never returned home. My aunt still had a young daughter who had a baby son barely six months old. She had been a Young Communist League member and took an active part in starting a new life in the village after the war. But one night Bandera's nationalist thugs came from the forest and took away the daughter who was never seen again.

There is only one grave of the Volianiks at the old village cemetery — that of my uncle. In her older years my aunt was taken into the home of her grandson whom she had managed to save and rear. She spent her remaining days in the south of Ukraine where he had settled over twenty years ago, and there she was buried.

This is the story of but one family. I am a frequent guest in my home village and visit the graves of my mother and uncle, and every time the memories of those horrible first postwar years resurface in my mind. I remember how my mother used to start whenever anyone rapped on the window during the night — what if this were the Bandera men again, coming to demand some clothes and threatening to burn our home if we refused. I remember how my elder brother, who had been courting girls already, burst into tears on having to part with his boots (the one and only pair for the whole family), when the "night vagrants" ordered him to bring them outside at a

clip. I also remember how our neighbor Yakiv Kotilo, a partially blind man, asked that I read for him what the Soviet newspapers wrote about, and every time he carefully blacked out the windows first and then made me read in a whisper. One night the Bandera men hacked to death our neighbors — two girls and their father — who had come from the east shortly before. The mother and her son, our constant playmate, hid in the cemetery and thus miraculously escaped the bandits' ax. The boy and his mother immediately left the village the next day, their destination unknown to me.

I recall night fires in the neighboring villages, gunshots in the woods, and dark houses that seemed to have shrunk from fright. People were afraid of the nights, and waited anxiously for daybreak, because the "foresters" plied their gory trade only after sunset. Fearless trust became a rare human asset, because telling anyone openly about the atrocities the Bandera men perpetrated against innocent people spelled death at the hands of the nationalists. Once my uncle Klim Volianik told my mother that he had heard from our local priest about the murder of some high ranking cleric in Lviv. Only much later did I learn that my uncle had in mind the Archpriest Doctor Havriil Kostelnik who was killed on orders from the Vatican by Bandera's agents near the Church of the Transfiguration in Lviv on August 20, 1948. How could my fellow villagers have known that Kostelnik led a movement of believers for convening a synod to annul the adverse decision of the Brest Synod of 1596 by which the Greek Orthodox Church was united with the Roman Catholic Church. On March 8—10, 1946 the clergy of the Greek Orthodox (Uniate) Church meeting in Lviv broke with the Vatican and reunited with the Russian Orthodox Church. It was not easy for Archpriest Kostelnik to take such a step, but he had enough courage to concede: "... I had been an Uniate and lost the dignity of a shepherd. I had been a nationalist and lost the dignity of a human. But this was not enough. Nationalism robbed me and my wife by killing our three sons. We became disconsolate parents... There is hardly a family in our land who would not be shedding tears for a victim of nationalism. We say to nationalsm — enough of the blood! We say to the Uniate Church — enough of the ignominy!"

Shortly after, our schoolteacher, who sustained heavy wounds during the war, would tell us about the nationalists having hacked to death the writer Yaroslav Halan. From his pamphlets included in this collection the reader will understand why the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) and the Vatican hated him so much. Relying on numerous documents, Halan exposed the collaboration of the Vatican, the Uniate Church and the Ukrainian nationalists

with the nazis. In his article *What the Uniate Church is All About,* he wrote:

"The Uniate Church was established 350 years ago in an atmosphere of treason. In this very same atmosphere it is dying today. The curse of its infamous past has followed it throughout its entire history; the curse of many generations of Ukrainian people hovers over it like an incommutable death sentence."

It is a proven fact that the Uniate clergy collaborated with the nazi invaders. In his pastoral of July 5, 1941, Metropolitan Andriy Sheptitsky urged "to greet with joy and gratitude the victorious German army which has occupied almost the whole of our land" and conduct divine service everywhere in their honor. Eventually, when the nazis seized the Ukrainian capital Kiev, he "as head of the Ukrainian Catholic Church," sent Hitler a telegram, congratulating him cordially on the occupation of the "golden domed city on the Dnieper": "I shall pray to God to bless the victory that will be a guarantee of lasting peace for your Excellency, for the German Armed Forces and the German people. Respectfully yours, Andrey, Count Sheptitsky, Metropolitan."

Yaroslav Halan extensively relied on undeniable facts, historical documents, and eyewitness reports in exposing the atrocities of the Nachtigall Battalion whose chaplain was Ivan Hrinyokh, eventually one of the organizers of the UPA (Ukrainian Insurgent Army), and in condemning the complicity of the Uniates in activating the SS Division Halichina and directly hatching the heinous crimes the nationalists perpetrated in the Western Ukrainian territories. History has been inflexibly severe to anyone who has ever tried to juggle real facts and events to suit the falsifiers' ends. Yaroslav Halan knew who, why, and for what purpose tried to falsify history, and he was relentless when he debunked the jugglers. At that time, he still lacked all the documents that would have demolished the legend about the OUN having allegedly rebelled against their *Abwehr* masters and fought the nazi invaders after Hitler had obliterated the "government" under Yaroslav Stetsko. But knowing quite well about the prewar collaboration of the OUN with the nazis, he proved right in his surmises (sustained by captured German documents recording the direct links of the UPA with the *Abwehr-kommandos* 101 and 202) that the Gestapo had been actively involved in organizing the UPA. The nazis kept a vigilant eye on their long-standing agent Stepan Bandera who denounced to *Abwehr-2* his political associates when they were temporarily taken in by the Gestapo-conceived legend that Bandera and his confederates had "broken with the Germans" and started fighting

them. The provocative activities of Bandera, Stetsko and Lebid also sealed the doom of those who started to get to the bottom of the nationalist word-mongering, because they themselves saw how the nazis committed atrocities against the Ukrainian people, while the leadership of both the Bandera and Melnyk factions actually continued collaborating with the *Abwehr,* at the same time accusing each other of working for the invaders' intelligence agencies. Yaroslav Halan was correct in writing: "Both the Melnyk and Bandera followers contended with one another for being of greater use to the nazis," although he did not equate the chieftains of the OUN with its rank-and-file members who more often than not were drawn into the organization through deception and blackmail. That is why the writer pointed to the fact that the "mass executions of Bandera's subordinates... did not worry their leader," which to a certain extent was explained by the rank-and-file of the Bandera underground being at variance with their leaders. Taking this situation into consideration, the Soviet government eventually amnestied the OUN underground members who gave themselves up and laid down their arms. As the two factions carried on their feud, they sought the support of Sheptitsky, the so-called "national council" and the UCC (Ukrainian Central Committee) under the chairmanship of Kubijowytsch, a Gestapo agent of long standing. The council was headed by "the father of the Ukrainian nation" Sheptitsky himself. Alfred Bizanz, an *Abwehr* Colonel who maintained contact with and supervised the activities of the OUN leadership and Metroplitan Sheptitsky himself, fell prisoner to Soviet troops in 1945. He clearly defined the range of the UCC activities: "The Ukrainian Central Committee was the main source of intelligence information. The committee was directed by *Abwehr* agents — the Ukrainian nationalists Dr. Kubijowytsch and his deputy Pankivsky. Besides, the 40 Generalgouvernement local committees subordinated to Kubijowytsch were also managed by people who, through their agents, maintained contact with local Gestapo and *Abwehr* branches, informing them of the situation in their territories." On July 8, 1943 Metropolitan Sheptitsky met with the so-called Military Board of the SS Division Halichina, and its head, the very same Colonel Bizanz, "thanked in his speech the Metropolitan for the kindly-disposed attitude of his clergy to the affairs of forming the SS Infantry Division Halichina".

Varoslav Halan was a kind, affable and hospitable man. And when on the morning of October 24, 1949, Ilariy Lukashevich, a former ward of the Lviv Seminary and at that time a student of

the local Agricultural College, rang the bell of the writer's home, the domestic Yevstafia Dovhun opened the door. She knew Lukashevich by sight, since he had visited Yaroslav Halan before to ask his help in getting transferred to the Forestry College — a cover-up story invented by OUN leaders. This time Ilariy Lukashevich was accompanied by Mikhailo Stakhur, an experienced terrorist who had an ax on him. Both of them were also armed with German grenades and pistols. Yaroslav Halan had finished writing a newspaper story just then, so he was in a cheerful mood, kindly invited the guests to sit down, and started talking with Lukashevich. Stakhur, who stood behind Halan's back, hit the writer with the ax eleven times. Each of the blows, as the forensic medical examination showed, was fatal.

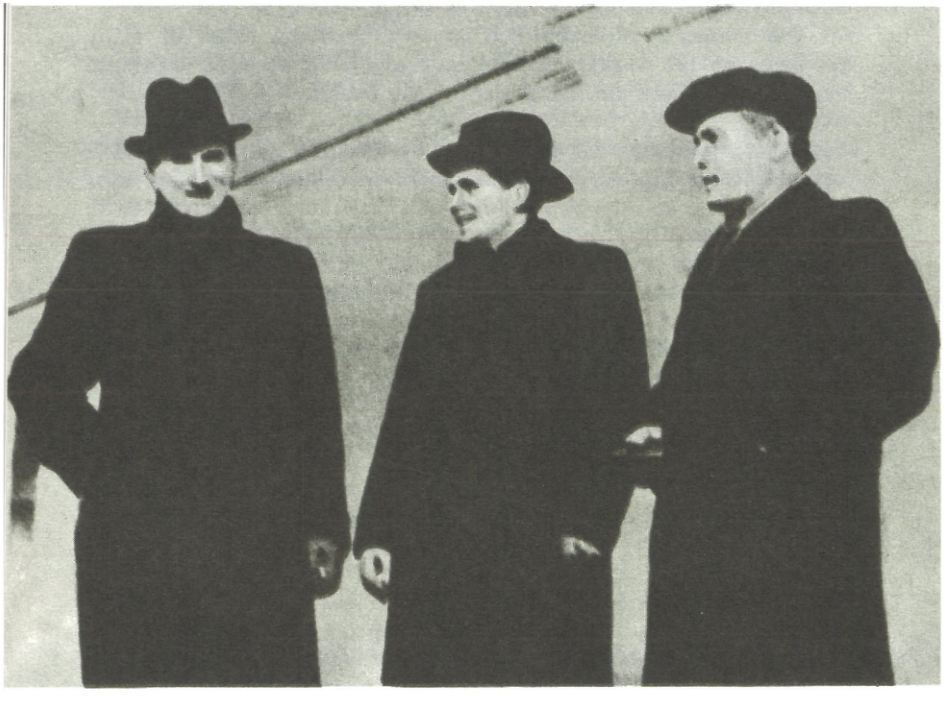
Ilariy Lukashevich was the son of an Uniate priest whose home was frequented by OUN members, while the master of the house, Denis Lukashevich, was an accomplice in the murder of Archpriest Kostelnik. Explaining the motive of the murder, Ilariy said that he was told by Roman Shchepansky and by other OUN chieftains that "Halan had to be killed because he went against the Vatican, and as a Soviet press correspondent at the Nuremberg Trials, he had demanded the extradition and trial of Stepan Bandera."

The murderer Mikhailo Stakhur, who had the death of many civilians on his conscience, said in court: "We received orders to kill Halan because he was feared by the Vatican."

Time is an impartial judge. The eyewitnesses of those horrible events in the history of the Ukrainian people are becoming ever fewer with years, the graves of the traitors have overgrown with grass, and gradually our wounds are healing; time has blunted our grief, but what the people have lived through, suffered and fought for will not be forgotten. Time has proved that what Yaroslav Halan wrote was true. And this truth of history cannot be obscured or falsified, because people's memory knows no oblivion.

Professor
Mikola Zhulinsky,
Dr. Sc. (Philology)

As a keen journalist and radio commentator, Yaroslav Halan fought both German fascists and Ukrainian nationalists during and affer the war.
B e l o w. Soviet special correspondents at the Nuremberg Trials in 1945-1946, left to right: writers Fedor Trofimov from Karelia, Jonas Šimkus from Lithuania and Yaroslav Halan, special correspondent of the newspaper Radyanska Ukraina (Soviet Ukraine).



Lest People Forget

IN THE SERVICE OF NAZI PLUNDERERS

The western regions of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic have but recently thrown off the yoke they had been subjected to by the Polish landed gentry and capitalists, and have embarked on a new, free and happy life. The workers have been given plants and factories to run, and the peasants the landowners' lands. Everywhere work is in full swing. The people who had been enslaved have now straightened their backs and started to manage their liberated land in a new, socialist way. Exploitation and unemployment have been done away with, and the doors of secondary and higher educational establishments have been flung open for young workers and peasants. On the land that had been enslaved for centuries a new epoch has ensued — the epoch of freedom, happiness and national welfare.

But the bright destiny of our people stabbed their enemies with envy. On a dark night they attacked us fiendishly, bringing ruin and death to our peaceful, flowering towns and villages. Feeling their inevitable doom and the day of reckoning of the nations they had enslaved the corrupt nazis dared to raise their bloody hands on the borders of the country of socialism.

In this abominable gamble the nazis found their worthy associates in the nationalist bandits. These degenerates did not stop at any crime against their own people for the right to kiss the jackboot of a nazi policeman.

The OUN (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists), which had built its lair under the wing of the Polish bourgeois rulers, was one of the most reactionary and counterrevolutionary parties and the most loyal to German imperialism.

During the historic days of September 1939 the nationalist gangs fled to the West beyond the San River for all they were worth to seek protection of their Berlin employers. There all these Dontsovs, Banderas, Melnyks, Paliys, Levitskys and Stakhovs found refuge, and there they helped in oppressing the Polish people.

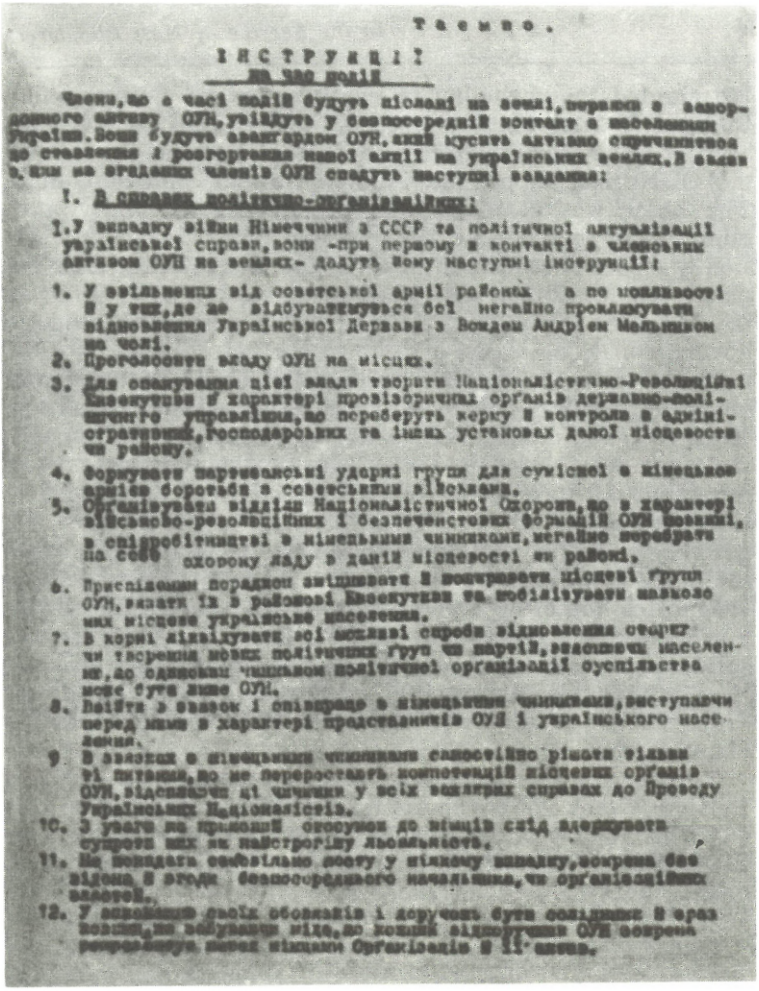
After Hitler's government made the ancient Polish city of Kraków a sanctuary for the nationalists, this scum started to sharpen their teeth against the Ukrainian lands and looking with venomous hatred at the far bank of the San where a new life of the liberated people was flowering. Armed and uniformed by their masters, the nationalist thugs strutted arrogantly through the ruined streets of Polish cities, proud of having been permitted to eat in the restaurants where their German masters had their meals. The abominable lackeys of Hitler had reached the last limit of moral degradation.

The Gestapo put their confidant Shukhevich, an OUN member and former Lviv lawyer, in charge of the whole gang.

"These degenerates did not stop at any crime against their own people for the right to kiss the jackboot of a nazi policeman."
— Yaroslav Halan.
In the Service of the Nazi Plunderers.

Opposite.
A photocopy of the instructions received by the leadership of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists before the aggression of Hitler's Germany against the Soviet Union.

The instructions said in particular:
"Secret.
Instructions for the time of action.
In case of war between Germany and the USSR...:
"...4. To form partisan combat groups to fight jointly with the German army...
"5. To establish departments of Nationalist Defense which, as military-revolutionary and security formations of the OUN, must, in collaboration with the German authorities,



Таємно.

ІНСТРУКЦІЯ!

на час подій

Члени, що в часі подій будуть післані на землі, перейми в закордонного центру ОУН, увійдуть у безпосередній контакт з населенням України. Вони будуть авангардом ОУН, який кинеться активно спричинитися до створення і розгортання нової акції на українських землях. В зв'язку з цим на згаданих членів ОУН спадуть наступні завдання:

I. В справах політично-організаційних:

1. У випадку війни Німеччини з СССР та політичної актуалізації української справи, вони -при першому в контакті з членами активом ОУН на землях- дадуть йому наступні інструкції:

1. У звільнених від совєтської армії районах а по можливості й у тих, де ще відбуватимуться бої негайно проголосувати відновлення Української Держави з Вождем Андрієм Мельником на чолі.
2. Проголосити владу ОУН на місцях.
3. Для опанування цієї влади творити Націоналістично-Революційні Екзекутиви й характері провізоричних органів державно-політичного управління, що переберуть керму й контроль в адміністративних, господарських та інших установах даної місцевости чи району.
4. Формувати партизанські ударні групи для сумісної з німецькою армією боротьби з совєтськими військами.
5. Організувати відділи Націоналістичної Охорони, що в характері військово-революційних і безпеченственних формацій ОУН виявили, в співробітництві з німецькими чинниками, негайно перебрати на себе охорону ладу в даній місцевості чи районі.
6. Приспішеним порядком змішувати з вишкувати місцеві групи ОУН, взяти їх в районові Екзекутиви та мобілізувати навколишнє місцеве українське населення.
7. В корні ліквідувати всі можливі спроби відновлення старих чи творення нових політичних груп чи партій, взагалі населенню, до одинокої чинної політичної організації суспільства може бути лише ОУН.
8. Вийти в зв'язок і співпрацю з німецькими чинниками, виступаючи перед ними в характері представників ОУН і українського населення.
9. В зв'язках з німецькими чинниками самостійно рішати місцеві питання, що не переростають компетенцій місцевих органів ОУН, відсилаючи ці чинники у всіх важливих справах до Проводу Українських Націоналістів.
10. З увагою на прихильне ставлення до німців стіл здержувати супроти них як найстрогішу лояльність.
11. Не покидати свобідно посту у ніякому випадку, зокрема без відома й згоди безпосереднього начальника, чи організаційних власти.
12. У випадковім своїм обовязків і доручень бути солідними й враз вимогливими, не забуваючи ніде, що кожний відпоручник ОУН зокрема репрезентує перед місцями Організацію в її цілости.

immediately take over the functions of maintaining order in a given locality or district.

"...8. To come into contact and collaboration with the German authorities...

"...10. Utmost loyalty to them should be shown."

He attested the reliability of every nationalist arrival in his fold and became chief overseer of their loyalty to the nazis.

After some time the Gestapo demanded that the chieftain of the OUN gang supply the German Abwehr with 300 thugs. The order was complied with promptly, and shortly after hundreds of mercenaries were trained in spying and subversion at a special school. In this way the nazis swelled their spy gangs with Ukrainian nationalist henchmen so as to infiltrate them into the territory of the Soviet Union where they had to do their dirty job to the greater "glory" of Hitler.

Today when the great multinational family of the Soviet Union heroically fights the nazi aggressors, when the hearts of all its sons and daughters beat as one in a mighty will to win, we voice our hatred and contempt of the nationalists who have sold out to the most inveterate enemy of our people — German fascism.

Every citizen of the Soviet Union on the battlefield and on the home front must be on the alert for any saboteur lurking around his house, by a plant, factory, or near a railroad. Do not let your vigilance be slackened by the fact that he speaks perfect Ukrainian or Russian. In the struggle with us, the crafty enemy resorts to the vilest deception: his agents are often hiding the sting of a nationalist fascist vermin behind a pleasant smile.

The last decisive battle has come, the battle of a world of freedom, peace and happiness against a world of barbaric, gory darkness. In this battle a place of honor is reserved for the peace-loving Ukrainian people who, on having gained freedom, will never ever surrender it to anyone.

[1941]

PEOPLE WITHOUT A HOMELAND

In the summer of 1933 a young man rang at the door of the villa housing the Soviet Consulate in Lviv. On entering, he said he wished to speak to the consul. When the visitor was informed that the consul could not receive him, he swiftly drew a German *Parabellum* and fired a number of shots at the first person who caught his eye. The victim of the murder was Mailov, a member of the Consulate staff.

No sooner had the sounds of the last shot died away, than the bandit made for the door. But the doors in the building were of the type that open and close only through a remote-control device. In vain did the murderer look on the walls for the buttons which could free him. In vain did he, pale and frightened, run from window to window: the grilles he had not noticed before now blocked his way of escape. The criminal, who but a minute ago had killed an innocent man in cold blood, lost his head in fear of punishment. Cold sweat broke out on his forehead; unnerved, he dived into the darkest corner.

The criminal's name was Lemik, a member of the so-called Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, formally under the leadership of Colonel Konovalets, but actually under the intelligence department of the German General Staff. Lemik was only a tool. The instigators of this vile murder were sitting smugly in Berlin carrying on "negotiations" with the aides of Groener and Himmler. In their spare time they fabricated an "ideology" to justify their black deeds and dirty killings which outshone the feats of Azef,* the arch-provocateur of the Russian counterrevolution. Azef, however, had had no

* Azef, Yevno, 1896-1918, one of the founders and leaders of the Party of Socialist-Revolutionaries. An agent of the czarist secret police, he was responsible for the death of hundreds of people. Azef was also active in Ukraine. Unmasked in 1908, he fled abroad.

need of an ideological superstructure. He was quite content to hear the imperials jingle in his pocket. The ambitions of the arch-provocateurs of the Konovalets clique went further than that. Dismissed from the stage of history, they used every means of making it at least to the variety platform. Donning yellow-blue * mantles, they doggedly scrambled on to the stage, menacingly brandishing the chipped trident.** The words "Ukraine" and "Ukrainian" were constantly repeated by these self-styled priests of "superpatriotism."

"It's sweet and becoming to die for one's country," they whispered in the ears of their Lemiks, sending them off on a dirty job. But when death rose up starkly before the eyes of the Lemiks, for most of them the "nationalist superstructure" would vanish instantly from their heads, without leaving even the slightest trace in their hearts.

Then the nominees to the nationalist martyrdom would throw off their crowns of thorns, and, after crying their eyes out on the bosoms of the police, they would obligingly don the invisible cap of an agent provocateur in the service of the Lviv or Warsaw secret police.

The Lemiks' "homeland" had proved to be a myth. Encountering stark reality, the myth dispersed like poisonous fumes before a strong gust of fresh air.

IN THE SHADOW OF THE PRUSSIAN EAGLE

The genealogy of the Lemiks goes back to the times when the now dead Konovalets was wearing the stars of an Austrian lieutenant on his uniform tabs. At the outbreak of the First World War Berlin became a Mecca to which the political salesmen of the nationalist breed were drawn like witches to a Sabbath.

At that time the market was tipped in their favor. Ukraine with her wealths had always played an important role in the

* yellow-blue — the colors of the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists' flag.

** trident — device of the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists.

imperialistic schemes of Germany. The so-called Union for the Liberation of Ukraine, hastily organized by the German General Staff, was to provide "cadres" for the future puppet "government." Meanwhile, with the Kaiser's blessings, some of the ministerial candidates organized espionage and subversion in the rear of the czarist army, while others translated German propaganda leaflets into Ukrainian and then forced them upon Ukrainian prisoners of war.

The most enterprising among them, organized so-called "units of the Riflemen of the Sich" whose duty it was to entwine new laurel leaves into the dubious wreath of "glory" of the Austro-Hungarian army and assist Vienna in realizing its cherished dream of putting one of the Hapsburg archdukes onto the Ukrainian throne.

Understandably, such a policy could not expect the slightest response from the Ukrainian people, in spite of the fact that the nationalist agents employed by the central powers were eagerly using anti-czarist slogans in their work. It was just as difficult to make a fool of a Poltava peasant as it was of a Kharkiv worker, for each was only too well aware that German shackles were no less easier to bear than were czarist handcuffs. Moreover, their experience with German landowners and factory-owners had taught them that in the field of exploitation and oppression the Prussians were unsurpassable masters.

In 1917 the nationalist agents of German imperialism thought their time had come. Their reports on the speeches at the Military Congress in Kiev were attentively read in Berlin. The reports were read and plans hatched.

These plans were revealed to the world in all their nakedness at the Brest Conference. With a helping hand from General Hoffman, the Ukrainian nationalists found themselves at the conference table. Released from the Berlin cage, the yellow-blue parrots obediently repeated what their German masters had taught them for years and obligingly nodded affirmation to all the demands made by the German delegation on the Soviet Government. When to the bang of the German generals' fists, the Soviet delegates were presented with an ultimatum on Ukraine and the Ukrainian people were faced with the enormous threat of Austro-German occupation, the

nationalist supers sang joyous "hosannas" to Wilhelm. At last, so they thought, their time had come, and with it the opportunity to exhange a lackey's livery for a ministerial tailcoat.

But cruel fate disappointed the lackeys this time as well, and showed that it was far easier to put on a livery than shed it. At a time when the Ukrainian people, through the feats of their soldiers, were writing a new, glorious page of their history, when all Ukraine had risen against the German invaders, the followers of Mazepa from the Central Rada did not dare stick their noses out of the reception rooms of their German patrons. The fires of rebellion flaring up now in one part of the country, now in another, alarmed and worried the battle-seasoned Prussian generals and evoked raw terror in the Kiev "ministers." These people without a homeland now knew what it meant to face the hatred of a great nation, a hatred which no repressive actions could quell, for every bullet fired by the invader, or by his nationalist henchmen, kindled yet another spark bringing nearer the day of the great uprising of all the people.

When the politicians from the Central Rada were superceded by a new German favorite — Pavlo Skoropadsky, the situation did not change in the least. Ukraine seethed, Ukraine wanted to live her own way. She destroyed with equal hatred the punitive units of General Eichhorn * and the uniformed henchmen of Skoropadsky.

Skoropadsky was to feel the brunt of this hatred in the fall of 1918, when he was forced to flee in a German ambulance train by the very same route along which his descendants of the Petlura school were to show a light pair of heels some time afterward.

In vain did the nationalist riffraff try later to tear out these black pages from their infamous history; in vain did the nationalist falsifiers compose abroad legends about their "Thermopylae" near the railroad station of Kruty — for nothing can repudiate the fact that during those turbulent years their influence had never gone beyond the limits that the bayonet of the interventionist had drawn for them.

* Eichhorn — general commanding the German expeditionary troops in Ukraine in 1918. Assassinated in Kiev.

WARSAW MELODIES

In 1919 they made yet another attempt to put a noose around the neck of the Ukrainian people. This time, due to the temporary incapacity of their Berlin guardians, they concluded an alliance with Pilsudski, who was at that point preparing his campaign on Kiev. Simon Petlura, the same Petlura who in the winter of that year had proclaimed pompously that his controversy with the Poles over Western Ukraine would be settled only with the sword, not only sheathed his sword some months afterwards and hastily recognized Pilsudski's claims for Western Ukraine, but by a secret agreement also ceded him all the territory on the right bank of the Dnieper, leaving for himself the humble right to rule Left-Bank Ukraine, under the strict supervision of Warsaw at that.

But Pilsudski's luck was even more short-lived than that of Wilhelm II. Some weeks after his advance began, he was worrying less about the retention of Kiev than about how to hold Warsaw itself. This time as well Petlura's "government" took to flight, fransferring its capital on wheels to Western Poland. The saloon car with the trident got stuck forever on a remote siding at the railroad station of Tarnow, and its passengers had no choice but to pass their years on foreign bread, and, growing older, to wait for the next juncture to come, to seek new patrons of political prostitution, who were still powerful enough to fill the disappointed hearts of the nationalists with new hope of realizing their crazy dreams.

ENTR'ACTE

As matters turned out, they waited a long time. However, in this interval between two acts — the First and Second World wars — the people without a homeland did not rest idly. On the one hand, they repaired the thread linking them with Berlin, which the course of events had broken off, and on the other hand, they continued to gamble on the great-power Jagiello mania of Pilsudski. To keep in practice they si-

multaneosly worked for every available counterespionage service: Olga Bassarab was devotedly working for the German, Petro Pevny for the Polish, Onatsky and Ostroverkh for the Italian. Some of the nominees to the yellow-blue mandarinate, such as Skoropadsky and Konovalets, were waiting for better times under the black wing of the German pseudo-republic, while others, such as Andriy Levitsky and Dmitro Levitsky, under the white wing of the eagle on the Vistula.

Through their agents, who were simultaneously their masters' agents, they continued to try to "appeal to the hearts" of the Ukrainian people. They appealed with guns and pistols, with acts of espionage, sabotage and subversion, and with hypocritical propaganda. And when in response our people hit them near Bazar, when they hit them at the trial of the so-called Association for the Liberation of Ukraine — the latter a new version of the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine — they raised a hue and cry about the "red terror in Ukraine." These pygmies, foaming with impotent fury, scattered throughout Europe and scrambled onto rostrums to advocate a "crusade" against the Soviet Union, particularly against the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.

IN THE EMBRACE OF THE SWASTIKA

It was no accident that this hurly-burly coincided with Hitler's advent to power. It was no accident that for her anti-Soviet "crusade" Milena Rudnitska had picked the rostum of the Geneva Congress of National Minorities directed by a rabid Hitlerite. It was Hitler who gave his blessings to the pensioners from the nationalist happy valley.

Notably, at that time the yellow-blue tribe produces examples of "discipline." As we know, the so-called Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, attempting to fool the people of Western Ukraine with an ersatz "revolutionary zeal," applied from its inception the tactics of individual terror against selected representatives of the Polish administration. But as soon as Hitler came to an agreement with Beck (Minister of Foreign Affairs of bourgeois Poland) the OUN chieftains

suddenly called a halt to the "terror." Moreover, when some of their members, disoriented by the sudden change of tactics, dared to protest, they paid with their life. The bodies of a young man and a priest's daughter, which were found by one of the ponds in Lviv with bullets in their brains, speak eloquently about the fact that the OUN bosses were interested in fascist Germany more than in the life and blood of their comrades in the organization.

THE DAY OF RECKONING IS CLOSE

But it was only in June 1941 that the people without a homeland showed what a rabble which had made a profession out of political banditry and treason was really capable of. The tanks of Hitler's hordes had not yet got into gear, when the yellow-blue tribe of Western Ukraine had already drawn the knives out of their bootlegs.

The invaders had hardly entered Lviv, when the riffraff crept out of their holes and killed Soviet people, competing in their atrocities with the German soldiery. Why? First of all, because such was the order of the Gestapo.

Dreaming about the future Poland, the Polish author Zeromski wrote his *Dream about the Sword.* The yellow-blue breed proved to be far more modest. They dreamed not of a knightly sword, but of the usual rod of a German *Polizeimeister.*

However, even this dream did not last long, for it was cut short by the very hand that had placed the bandit knife into their hands. Two of the armed units, which the German allowed the Galician "aborigines" to organize during the first days of the war, were disbanded by the German officers before the men of these units had even mastered the Prussian goose step. Only those renegades who were sufficiently seedy and already toothless were permitted by Himmler to toy with "politics" which, for the most part, consisted in reprinting material from the *Völkischer Beobachter* on the pages of the *Krakiwski visti* (Kraków News).

Twenty-five years of Soviet power mean twenty-five years

of Ukrainian statehood. The fascists do not consider us a people, they are rabid, irreconcilable enemies of Ukraine, enemies of her statehood. We lead a life and death struggle with them. For our life, for their death. The entire people has united in this struggle. Through its heroism on the battlefield it is building itself a monument of eternal glory. And the closer the day of our victory comes, the stronger the beat of the hearts — ordinary yet great in this very ordinariness — of the Soviet people.

However, the closer the day of reckoning, the greater the fear and despair of the hangmen of Ukraine, of the hangmen and their hirelings — the people without a homeland, human scum which today has found itself out of the mainstream of history, where runs but one road — the road to ignominy and eternal oblivion.

1942

THE STONES CRY OUT FOR VENGEANCE

Wächter, the Governor of Galicia, loved to indulge in gestures. For the million and a half gold zlotys he extorted from the residents of Lviv as contribution, he had a canteen built for the clerks of his agency. Almost across the entire breadth of one of its walls was a gaudy painting showing the white-coated troops of the Austrian Empress Maria Theresa entering Lviv.

Directly after the troops hurried a smiling sutler and whore followed by a judge. Beaming with bliss, the vicious and skunky face of the judge sweeps away all our doubts: the German painter showed us the familiar mug of a Gestapo man under an 18th-century wig.

This Gestapo man donning the mantle of a judge was substituted for something that is not seen in the "fresco" at first glance — namely, death.

Death and a whore — these were the inseparable and true fellow travelers of Hitler's hordes. Their stenchy breath poisoned the walls and the souls of Lviv's residents throughout three years.

Mass executions were carried out from the first day of occupation. The number of the city's residents shot, hanged, gassed, butchered, tortured, burned and buried alive reached a fantastic figure — 150,000.

Some thought that this would be the end, since the fascist beast, having had his fill of blood, had by all reasoning to draw in his claws and become peaceable. Some philistines believed that Hitler's brand of death mowed down only Jews. They did not see that this death followed hard on their heels as well.

In the first days of July 1941, the Gestapo in Lviv arrested 38 outstanding scientists and scholars, among them such world renowned men as Bartel, Boy-Żeleński, Grek, Ostrowski, Ręcki, Cieszyński, Nowicki, Dobrzaniecki, Stożek, Sieradzki, Progulski, Mączewski, Krukowski. All of them were shot shortly after their arrest.

Was this extermination of progressive people of the subjugated nations? Precisely! But it had a method of its own.

Most of the 38 executed professors were physicians. As subsequent events showed, this fact was not accidental. The nazis had made it a point of killing first of all those whose purpose it was to fight death.

Ręcki specialized in gastric diseases, and did not take part in public life. He only treated ulcers and cancer — and did it wonderfully. That was exactly why he had been shot.

Panchishin was an irreconcilable enemy of tuberculosis. All of Galicia knew about it, and the patients visited him from far and wide. That was sufficient enough reason for the Gestapo to put a checkmark opposite his name.

Arresting and shooting Panchishin would have been the easiest thing for the Gestapo. But simply killing Panchishin was not enough for them. They had to use his death also in the interest of their policy of fanning national enmity. In this case Sosnkowski's men did the Gestapo a good turn. The Gestapo agents of the Polish fascist organization *Falanga* and ONR (People's Radical Camp) started bombarding the physi-

cian with anonymous letters threatening his life. Panchishin's heart could not endure the intimidation.

From these very same hands death overtook the famous Ukrainian physician Lastovetsky on a street in Lviv. The murders caused panic among other Ukrainian physicians. The intimidation made people seek refuge in escape. Hence the results: of the 140 physicians no more than twenty remain in Lviv today.

Simultaneously, the Gestapo mobilized its other agents — Bandera's followers. Within a short time these butchers destroyed almost all of the Polish physicians in Galicia. The Pole Jałowy, dean of the medical college, died from their bullet in broad daylight. Terrorized by death threats (this time written in Ukrainian), the noted surgeon Gruca disappeared from Lviv. He left his hometown, without even leaving a forwarding address.

The nazi invaders could rightfully rejoice in their "victory." Lviv's Jewish population was wiped out (of the 120,000 Jews 600 remained alive), while the gradual extermination of the Ukrainians and Poles had been also taken care of.

To add insult to injury, the nazis kept several hospitals open for the sick "natives." Some 400 beds for a population of 300,000! It was 400 dirty, bloodstained, vomit-covered, lice-ridden beds without pillows or sheets. It was 400 beds for 400 patients deprived of a doctor's attendance, medicines and food. The patients in the hospitals of occupied Lviv died most from hunger and not from diseases.

The local pharmacies were half empty: the use of medicines was the exclusive right of the Germans. Yet there was one "medicine" in abundance in Lviv during those accursed days — potassium cyanide. The Germans had brought along so much of that offensive poison it could be had for money almost on every corner.

The Germans knew what they were doing. Within three years of occupation, potassium cyanide opened the gateway into the other world to more than 30,000 residents of the hapless city.

Physical death was not the only weapon the nazis wielded. Feeding a victim potassium cyanide — that was not enough. His mind had to be poisoned as well.

On July 1, 1941 the nazis imposed a contribution of one million or so zlotys on the Lviv Jews. The money had to be paid within twenty-four hours, or else the Germans threatened with a murderous pogrom.

The Jews rushed to sell their possessions. The best furs could be had for one hundred zlotys, and the unfortunate sellers offered more. Profiteering on other people's misfortunes broke loose. The Germans did not clamp down on the speculators. Quite the opposite. They said: "Go ahead and speculate, steal, and drift into prostitution — we'll only have it easier to assert our *Neue Ordnung.*"

The University, Polytechnic College, and secondary schools were closed down, and there were practically no classes in elementary schools. The young people — hungry, ragged, without any hope for a future whatsoever — were thrown out into the street.

The Germans, though, encouraged them: "Trade, rob one another. We won't punish you for that."

The intellectuals had no means for livelihood. Yet the nazis organized twelve kinds of police, including one Ukrainian and another Polish. The Ukrainian police were made to hunt down the Poles, and the Polish the Ukrainians.

Frequently Ukrainian policemen were sent to destroy the Jews, and the scenes of murder were shot on film. Then the films titled "Ukrainians Kill Jews" were screened in movie theaters throughout France, Italy, Yugoslavia, Sweden and Argentina.

The nazis' idea was utterly simple. First of all they made the victim an accomplice in their crimes, and after the victim, having degenerated morally, lost whatever human qualities, consciense and honor he had and became an altogether obedient tool, they would get rid of him like of a pair of dirty socks.

When they organized a Jewish ghetto, they brought faint-hearted traitors into the so-called Jewish police. Its mission was to hunt down the Jews who tried to escape death, for which the nazi "psychologists" promised to spare the mercenaries' lives. But once the cry of the last child died down within the walls of the ghetto, the Gestapo went after the Jewish policemen as well. The Germans decorated all the balconies in the ghetto with corpses of the collaborationists.

It is common knowledge that the Ukrainian nationalists had been obedient tools in the hands of the Gestapo. The nazis eagerly availed of their services in destroying the Poles in Galicia and Volhynia. But once Bandera's men finished their gory work in a certain district, the Gestapo went after them, too.

Those three horrible years are something which will not be forgotten so soon. They cannot be forgotten, because every stone in Lviv cries out for vengeance.

We must work. The people of Lviv are getting jobs, their children will go to school for the first time in years. For all it had lived through, Lviv has preserved its spirit which in the hardest times was cleansed by hatred for the enemy.

As to the nazi henchmen — if they will ever pop up — they will be destroyed by the people without a sense of remorse.

It shall be done in the name of a new, free, and happy Lviv!

[1944]

BY THE THRESHOLD

As a point of fact, the shares of the Ukrainian nationalists have long since hit bottom on the stock exchange of Hitler's "new Europe," for Hitler had thrown away the yellow-blue puppet circus of 1918 issue into the dustbin.

Why? First of all, because Wilhelm II had to do with one kind of Ukraine, while Hitler with quite another. In 1918 the German punitive battalions enjoyed the support of the *kurkul* * battalions of the Serdyuks. Now the German punitive

* *kurkul* (Ukr. Same as Russian *kulak*) — a well-to-do farmer in czarist Russia who profited from the labor of poorer peasants; opposed collectivization of the land in Soviet time.

divisions find support only from a scattering of habitual criminals. Twenty-four years ago, when General Eichhorn entertained the big-time landowners Lizohub and Chikalenko, he was quite aware that someone stood behind these Lizohubs and Chikalenkos, someone who couldnt't be ignored, who could build up a strong dike against the raging waves of revolution, whose interests were to some extent identical with those of Kaiser Germany. The sugar manufacturer Tereshchenko willed to sell his sugar to the German merchants rather than lose the opportunity of selling it to anyone at all, while the landowner and *kurkul* of Podolia and Kherson area was less afraid of the German requisition than of the slogan "Land to the Peasants!" For them, the German soldier parading through Sophia Square * was a more pleasant alternative than the insurgent Ukrainian farm laborer occupying the post of executive committee chairman.

That is why Wilhelm II needed the yellow-blue props, along with the puppets who fulfilled the function of lightning-rods during those formidable and turbulent days.

Since then a great many changes have taken place in the Ukrainian steppe. As the victor, the Ukrainian people swept the vermin out of their fields, weeded and turned over the soil with their plow, and, in their way, gave birth to and brought up a new generation — free, brave and proud. The Skoropadskys, Levitskys and Chikalenkos lost once and for all their social base and, instead of becoming the rulers of Ukraine's destiny, desperately sought moneyed and powerful rulers to determine their own destinies. For many years these cats with clipped claws sat by their Berlin masters and purred into their ears endless tales about their former "glory," and of how the Ukrainian people were supposedly yearning with all their hearts for them to return.

But no sooner did the first Hitler soldier set foot in Ukraine, than the tales of the yellow-blue purrers were rudely effaced from the memory of the nazi rulers. Instead of the traditional bread and salt of welcome promised by the purrers,

* Now Bohdan Khmelnitsky Square in Kiev, in front of the St. Sophia Museum of Architecture and History.

the invaders saw before their noses the gun muzzles of the partisans, instead of flowers the heads of the Levitskys were showered with spittle. Instead of meek, adulating smiles, the Hitlerites saw only eyes burning with hatred. The invaders sowed death and ruin in their wake, expecting to reap fear, but instead of fear they reaped a whirlwind. They came to Ukraine with Zeiss field glasses, but even with them they groped through the country where everything living breathed boundless hatred toward the uninvited intruders.

The German army made a blunder, the props proved useless, while the buffoons of the yellow-blue circus an extra burden to bear.

There is yet another reason why Hitler is hard of heart with his Ukrainian lackeys, though he still uses them as the opportunity arises. The appetite of the German imperialists has reached such proportions that these ravishers don't want to share their booty with anyone. Now they've set out on a campaign not only against the common people of the countries they have conquered. The Norwegian fisherman lost his national independence and bread, while, with the coming of the Hitlerites, his master, besides losing his independence, also lost his ship. The invaders drove the French worker to forced labor in Germany where they also took the industrial equipment — the property of the French industrialist. The Germans tore the Polish farm laborer from his native land and made him work for the Prussian landowner, while his former master — the Polish landowner, is no longer a master or a landowner, he has been thrown out of his estate, in which its new master — the German, enjoys himself. And those capitalists in the conquered countries, who still remain capitalists as such, have been reduced to temporary "economic stewards," who for a certain time are destined to perform auxiliary duties in the German economy, which has been half ruined by war and blockade and which stands in need of skilled hands.

In September 1939, the Sheparoviches and Lutskys of Lviv sought protection in Kraków under the black wing of the Gestapo. In June 1941, they returned to Lviv to give away all their business into German hands. The Banderas and Melnyks did their utmost, through spying and subversion, to pave the

way for the entry of Hitler's troops into Ukraine, and when eventually they stretched out their hand to get a paltry dole for their loyal service, the Gestapo took some of them by that very same hand and led them to the place where they were cooped up. At one time the Galician manufacturers of soap and cigarette wrappers dreamed of lavish share holdings and directorships in the metallurgical industry of Zaporizhya, yet today these newly converted residents of the *Generalgouvernement* Krakau are even prohibited from entering the east Ukrainian regions. Should these poor beggars be lucky enough to get to Kiev by some miracle, there's only one thing the invaders can offer them there: dirty work on a fishing "artel" managed and exploited by the Germans, or ...the post of a Gestapo spy.

The latter is the most probable of all offers. The Gestapo also needs skilled hands, but who can excel the traitorous deeds of all those Levitskys, Malanyuks, Dontsovs, Barans and Baranovskys, of the old, experienced stool pigeons and merited employes of the czarist secret police, the Austrian *K-Stelle,* the Polish and Rumanian intelligence services, and the veterans of the German "Spiondienst"?

They hoped to become allies of Hitler, only to become hacks whom the master can give the boot any time. But they won't abandon his threshold. They'll patiently stick around, fearfully awaiting his death, to die themselves by his threshold, for there isn't an inch of Ukrainian land where these Cains will find refuge.

1942

FOR WHICH THERE EXISTS NO NAME

The fourteen-year-old girl could not look calmly at meat. When someone was about to fry cutlets, she grew pale and trembled like an aspen leaf.

In the dead of night some months ago, a group of armed men burst into her home not far from the town of Sarny, and brutally murdered her parents. Struck with horror, the girl watched the death agony of her father and mother.

One of the bandits put the sharp edge of his knife to the child's throat, but at the last moment he came up with another "idea."

"Go on, live to the glory of Stepan Bandera!" he said. "And so that you won't die of hunger, we'll leave some food for you. Come on, boys, chop up some pork for her!.."

The "boys" liked the idea. They took the pots and pans down from the racks, and in a matter of minutes a heap of meat cut from the bleeding bodies of her father and mother was placed before the girl, who was on the verge of collapse from horror.

This is the point to which these degenerates and bandits who call themselves the Ukrainian nationalists have come — all these followers of Bandera, Bulba and Melnyk. Their deeds of the last few years form a continuous chain of wild atrocities, monstrous and unsurpassed ferocity.

In January 1940 a "split" occurred in the OUN. Bandera broke away from Melnyk; the Gestapo twins parted. The schism was conditioned by the interests of the twins, as well as by the interests of their mother — Hitler's Germany.

Their roles were assigned in the following way: Melnyk was to remain an overt, full-time lackey of Berlin, while Bandera somewhat of an Azef. Hollering about "independence" and a "united Ukraine," this demagogic stool-pigeon endeavored to rally around himself as many cutthroats as possible, who would be ready to form an espionage-subversion unit within Hitler's horde during the first hours of Germany's attack on the Soviet Union.

On June 30, 1941, on the second day of the nazis' incursion into Lviv, Bandera established his "government" for Ukraine. This comedy was succeeded by another one twenty-four hours later: the Gestapo arrested Bandera and his "Prime Minister" Stetsko. The "arrest" notwithstanding, they offered him ample opportunities to go on leading his gang...

Beginning with the autumn of 1941, Bandera's OUN faction was gradually going into the "underground" which,

incidentally, was rather expertly organized by the Gestapo stage directors. At any price the invaders had to split the unity of the Ukrainian people and paralyze the growing partisan movement. And they placed their stakes on Bandera's OUN group. Its task was to forestall the anti-German sentiments among the masses and hinder the bitter hatred harbored by the Ukrainians against the German invaders from spilling into an armed struggle for the liberation of Ukraine.

Before long Bandera's henchmen went into action. At the German print shop in Lutsk they started printing — of all things! — anti-German leaflets, at the same time arming their so-called Ukrainian Insurgent Army with brand-new German submachine guns. But neither the leaflets nor the submachine guns did any particular harm to the Germans. A leaflet as such did not cause anyone's death as yet, but the bullets of Bandera's men had the property of flying not in the direction of the German punitive units, but into the chests of Ukrainian and Polish peasants, their wives, mothers and children, and into the backs of the partisans engaged in avenging the injustices suffered by the Ukrainian and Polish peoples.

All these traitorous activities could not, of course, change and did not change the natural development of events. The Ukrainian people saw through this provocation and through their assistance the Red Army advanced victoriously to the west, freeing more and more Ukrainian territory from the enemy. The Hitlerites and their nationalist hacks, however, were no better off than before.

It might have seemed that this was the end, that lower than these depths the pronazi Ukrainian nationalist scum would not go. But no! Even when the ultimate defeat of Germany had become but a matter of hours, the Ukrainian agents of Berlin remained true to themselves, and proved to be the most devoted and servile gang of all Hitler's flunkies in Europe.

True, even today, in the intervals that come between their criminal actions, these professional traitors rant about an "independent" and "united Ukraine," calling themselves an "independent political factor." But the facts show what this "independence" really amounted to. We refer to irrefutable facts corroborated by the real and sole instigators of the Ukrainian nationalists — their Gestapo masters.

Let documents speak for themselves. Let them seal the doom of what for many years has been labeled with the odious term of "Ukrainian nationalism."

In the early spring of 1944, the Red Army crossed the Zbruch River during its liberation campaign. About the same time the headquarters of the German security police and the SD of *Distrikt Galizien* was visited by Bandera "delegates" who had brought along a declaration to the effect that the representative of the so-called Central Command of the OUN, Herasimovsky, wanted "on behalf of the political and military sector of the OUN" to discuss with the Gestapo the possibility of close cooperation against "Bolshevism" under the conditions at hand.

The Gestapo did not have to be asked twice: on March 5, Herasimovsky met with the representative of the security police and SD, *Kriminalkommissar* Pappe, in Ternopil. As we see, the Gestapo had properly sized up their Bandera counteragents by sending to the palaver with Herasimovsky a specialist on criminal affairs.

During the meeting Herasimovsky made a statement, in which he said, in part (according to the shorthand report of Herr Pappe's secretary):

"...The Ukrainian people and the Bandera groups clearly understand that they can attain their independence only with the assistance of the greatest nation of Europe (read: nazi Germany — Y. H.)."

The phrase "Ukrainian people" that came from the mouth of the diehard mercenary was, of course, but a stylistical adornment. Herasimovsky only wanted to emphasize that the fate of the Bandera's gang, as of all the Ukrainian nationalists, would continue to rest in the hands of the nazis.

"Realizing this, the Ukrainian people (read: the Ukrainian nationalists — Y. H.) have already once stood by the side of the Germans — during the First World War. Later on they sought and found support in Germany, trained for German aims, and finally made their contribution to Germany both in the Polish-German as well as in the German-Soviet wars."

In this respect Herasimovsky was undoubtedly right. The Ukrainian nationalists were true servants of German imperial-

ism during the First World War; later they sought and found support in Berlin, diligently studied to become skilled spies for German aims and had every right to call themselves veterans of the German intelligence service. Apparently, Herr Pappe himself hadn't the slightest doubts about this, and if he patiently listened to the sincere confession of Bandera's champion of "independence," it was only because his long-standing career as a clerk for the criminal police prompted him to do so.

Herasimovsky continued:

"The erroneous view that the Bandera groups regard Germany as their enemy must be finished with. The Bandera groups state that the Ukrainians (read: the Ukrainian nationalists — Y. H.) would have been content with a state form patterned on a protectorate, but this step toward the independence of the Ukrainians was not effected by Germany; that is why the Bandera groups, bound by an idea (you hear: 'idea!' — Y. H.), are forced, in pursuance of their political goal to work illegally. Nonetheless, the illegal activities strictly provide not for action against Germany, but for preparations for a decisive struggle against the Russians. This was convincingly borne out by the fact that the Bandera groups started to organize, arm and train their combat units only in February 1943, that is at the time when, as a result of the events on the Eastern front, it had been established that the Germans could not overcome Russia as it had seemed at the beginning of the war."

As we see, Bandera's chain hound, wagging its tail as much as it could, was hitting at the legs of Herr *Kriminalkommissar* Pappe with that tail.

In his adulating frenzy Herasimovsky did not hesitate to refer to his subordinates as criminal elements:

"If in some localities acts of anti-German sabotage did take place, they were never done on the orders of Bandera's group, but were carried out unauthorized by Ukrainians following criminal motives."

Concluding his statement, Herasimovsky proposed the following:

"a) Bandera's group is to completely and unreservedly consolidate... solidarity with all German interests, such as supply,

German construction in the East, and necesarry requirements in the military service areas;

"b) OUN's Bandera group places at the disposal of the German contracting party secret-service material collected against Poles, communists and Bolsheviks by its intelligence service, for use in organizing punitive operations."

The nationalist henchmen of the German killers did not have to wait long for the Gestapo's response. Only a few days later, the representative of the security police and SD of *Distrikt Galizien* forwarded a memo to the *Generalgouvernement Oberführer* and Police Colonel, Bierkamp, which was overflowing with undisguised irony toward the Bandera "contracting party":

"Please inform me immediately on the decision of the RSHA, * as an OUN representative, the would-be minister of foreign affairs of the Ukrainian state, is to visit me soon."

Herasimovsky's second meeting with the Gestapo took place on March 23. In his new statement the OUN representative was no less generous than during his previous visit:

"...the OUN shall hand over to the Germans information of military nature from the regions behind the Soviet front line.

"The OUN shall keep its combat units behind the Soviet front line and disrupt Soviet supply operations, supply bases, munitions centers and depots through active sabotage..."

Preparing for this base activity, the OUN chieftains assiduously saw to it that their duped adherents would not know the truth. That is why Herasimovsky implored the Gestapo to keep silent:

"The supply of munitions and materiel for sabotage from the German side through the front line to the units of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army must be effected according to the strictest rules of secrecy lest the Bolshevik regime turn up trumps by maintaining that the Ukrainians (read: Ukrainian nationalists — Y. H.) who stayed behind the front line, are Germany's allies and her agents."

On March 28 Herasimovsky had a meeting with SS *Obersturmbannführer* Dr. Witisk, commander of the security poli-

* RSHA — *Reichssicherheitshauptamt* — Reich Central Security Office.

ce and SD of *Distrikt Galizien.* To Witisk's query on the Banderites' attitude toward German mobilization of the Ukrainians, the nationalist blackguard gave the cynical reply:

"The OUN will not place obstacles to this end. Besides, the Ukrainian people have so much manpower (!) that the German occupation authorities can carry out mobilization, after which new enlistments will still be feasible in the UPA, and neither party will stand in the way of the other."

Indeed, neither party stood in the other's way. Both the Germans and the Bandera hirelings contended for first place in exterminating the Ukrainian people. And if they did not succeed in carrying this insane objective to its fruition, it was only because they were hindered in the process...

On April 19, 1944, a meeting of the leaders of the German *Abwehrkommandos* 101, 202 and 303 of Army Group South took place. In his report, Lieutenant-Colonel Lindgardt *(Abwehrkommando* 101) complimented the OUN henchmen in quite a remarkable way. Now, just listen to what he said:

"But for the OUN cooperation the activities of my agents would be completely impossible."

Lieutenant-Colonel Seliger *(Abwehrkommando* 202) was even more eloquent:

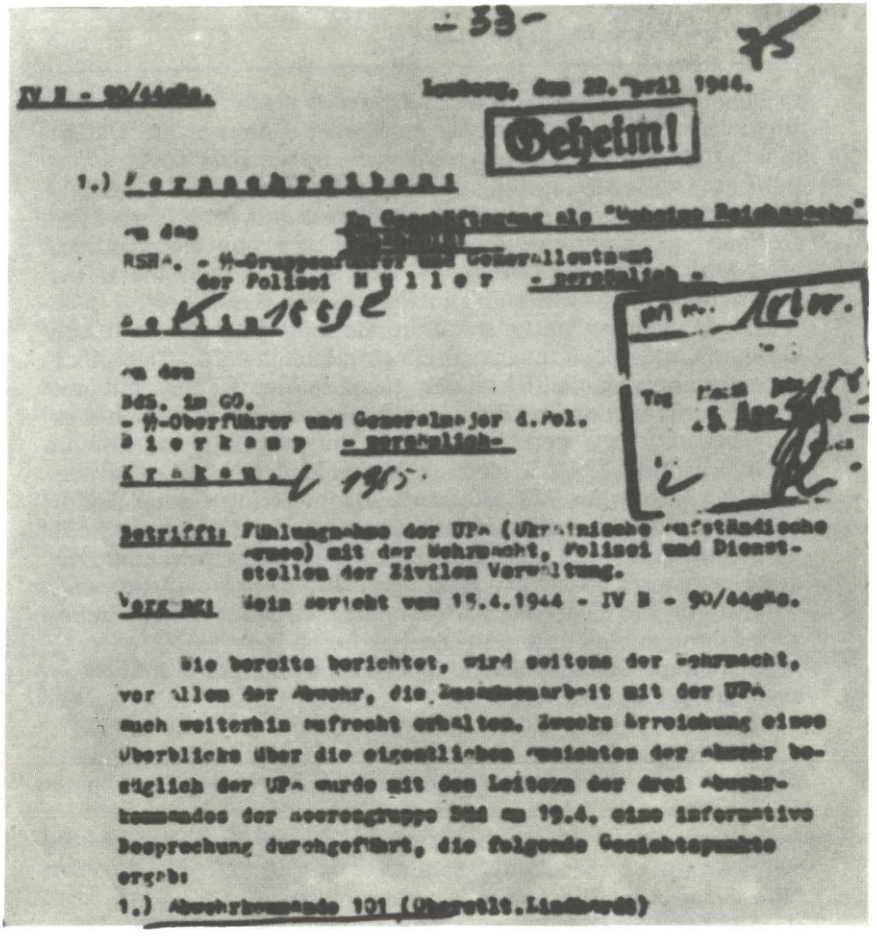
"Actually I must embrace all the members of the UPA in the territory of Galicia, and after training and equipping them, airdrop them behind the Soviet lines or let them pass

»

"The circle of infamy has closed..." — Yaroslav Halan. *For Which There Exists No Name.* Photocopies of German archival documents about the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) being used for intelligence and sabotage.

Overleaf. Report on a meeting of the commanding officers of *Abwehrkommandos* on April, 19, 1944.

Yaroslav Halan quotes this document in the same pamphlet. Lieutenant-Colonel Lingardt, *Abwehrkommando* 101: "But for the OUN cooperation the activities of my agents would be completely impossible." Lieutenant-Colonel Seliger, *Abwehrkommando* 202: "For a long time I have maintained contact with the UPA through its



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IV B - 90/44ghe.

Lemberg, den 12. April 1944.

Geheim!

1.) Vermerk zu den

In Ergänzung des "Geheimen Reichssache"

RSHA. - SS-Gruppenführer und Generalleutnant der Polizei M ü l l e r - persönlich -

B e r l i n

zu den

BdS. im GO.
- SS-Oberführer und Generalmajor d.Pol.
B i e r k a m p - persönlich -

K r a k a u

Betrifft: Fühlungnahme der UPA (Ukrainische Aufstandische Armee) mit der Wehrmacht, Polizei und Dienststellen der Zivilen Verwaltung.

Vorg.Bef: Mein Bericht vom 15.4.1944 - IV B - 90/44ghe.

Wie bereits berichtet, wird seitens der Wehrmacht, vor allem der Abwehr, die Zusammenarbeit mit der UPA auch weiterhin aufrecht erhalten. Zwecks Erreichung eines Überblicks über die eigentlichen Absichten der Abwehr bezüglich der UPA wurde mit den Leitern der drei Abwehrkommandos der Heeresgruppe Süd am 19.4. eine informative Besprechung durchgeführt, die folgende Gesichtspunkte ergab:

1.) Abwehrkommando 101 (Oberstlt.Lindbergh)

representative Shukhevich and have already been provided with men for training."

Opposite.
Report of SS *Brigadeführer* Brenner of February 12, 1944 on collaboration of the UPA with the intelligence department 1c.

Kampfgruppe Prützmann O.U., den 12.2.1944.

- I o -

Abschrift.

Geheim

Betrifft: Behandlung von Angehörigen der nat.ukr. Aufstandsarmee ("UPA").

Die s.Zt. im Raum D o r o z n o mit Führern der nat.ukr. Aufstandsarmee begonnenen Verhandlungen wurden jetzt auch im Raum T e r b a erfolgreich fortgeführt.
Deutsche Einheiten werden von Angehörigen der "UPA" nicht angegriffen. Die "UPA" schickt laufend Erkunder, vorwiegend Mädchen, in den feindbesetzten Raum und meldet die Ergebnisse dem Ic der Kampfgruppe. Gefangene der RA sowie sowj. Banden werden dem Ic zur Vernehmung überstellt; ortsfremde Elemente werden der Kampfgruppe zum Arbeitseinsatz zugeführt.
Um diese für uns notwendige Zusammenarbeit nicht zu stören, wird befohlen:

1.) Agenten der "UPA", die im Besitze eines von "Hauptmann Felix" unterschriebenen Ausweises sind oder sich als "UPA"-Angehörige ausgeben, sind ungehindert passieren zu lassen; Waffen sind ihnen zu belassen. Auf Verlangen sind die Agenten auf schnellstem Wege dem Ic der Kampfgruppe zuzuführen.

2.) Einheiten der "UPA" geben sich bei Zusammentreffen mit deutschen Einheiten durch Halten der gespreizten linken Hand vor das Gesicht zu erkennen; dieselben sind nicht zu bekämpfen, es sei denn, daß das Feuer von der Gegenseite eröffnet wird.

3.) Von Seiten der "UPA" wird Klage geführt, daß von deutschen Polizei- und Wehrmachteinheiten laufend willkürlich Requirierungen, besonders von Geflügel, durchgeführt werden. In diesem Zusammenhang wird auf den Befehl vom 11.2.44, wonach die Einheitsführer dafür verantwortlich sind, daß wildes Requirieren jeder Art zu unterbleiben hat, hingewiesen.

gez. B r e n n e r
Generalmajor und SS-Brigadeführer.

through the breaches in the front. For a long time I have maintained contact with the UPA through its representative Shukhevich and have already been provided with some men for training."

But while the Gestapo was conferring, the Red Army advanced in force, approaching the western frontiers of Ukraine. The German invaders realized that they would not walk the Ukrainian land for any length of time. And again the nationalists stood them in good stead.

On June 15, a representative of the security police, in a memorandum addressed to chief administration No. IV, SS *Sturmbannführer* and Councilor Pommerning, Berlin, wrote the following:

"...On 6.5. 44 adviser N. had a routine meeting with Herasimovsky, at which questions were discussed on transferring S. and F. agents across the front line to the Soviet side, as well as leaving F. agents in the event of German evacuation of a part of Calicia in connection with the military events.

"These talks also serve the interests of the *Sonderkommando Zeppelin* stationed here.

"As regards leaving F. and S. agents for transfer across the front line, Herasimovsky stated that the UPA maintains the same contact with the army as the security police with OUN's Bandera group.

"For a long time there has been agreement between the German army and the UPA that F. and S. agents from the ranks of the UPA be assigned to the army.

"So the only thing left is to acquaint the security police with the UPA members."

Enough is enough! The circle of infamy has closed, and the contemptible nationalist creatures arrived at the extreme point from which they had started on their treacherous path. Gone into the irrevocable past are the hopes of these blackguards for a "great win," gone are their vain dreams of ruling over Ukraine, dreams which evaporated from their heads intoxicated as they were from the blood of their brothers. Their mad, fanatic hatred of the Ukrainian people, which more than twenty years had been lauded in the verse of their poet Malaniùk, has pushed them into the very cesspool

into which the German rulers of their bodies and souls have slid. Into the very cesspool in which they were born and in which they learned their trade of murder, treason and provocation.

One might ask: how can people fall so low? This question should be asked of fascist Berlin, of that gigantic bin of social and human trash, of people without honor and without a homeland. Of people who are not even people as such, but something for which there exists no name in any language of this world.

1945

DESPAIR OF THE DOOMED

It is still difficult to ascertain what the defendants' tactics at the Nuremberg Trials will be. This will become clearer when the court calls upon the accused to speak. But even now it is obvious that these tactics will differ according to the individual.

Tycoons of the Third Reich like Schacht, Neurath and Pappen, especially the latter, are already doing everything possible to present themselves as people who have found themselves in the dock alongside Göring and Hess only by some erroneus twist of fate, because, ostensibly, they were only pawns in Adolf Hitler's camp.

Göring, Ribbentrop, Keitel and Rosenberg will probably attempt to present themselves as victims of the *Führer's* despotism to which they dared not but submit...

Rudolf Hess is likely to play the part of the "ideologue" of this nasty company, as is confirmed, after all, by his recent statement. This experienced nazi murderer obviously expects his four-year confinement in a British prison to lift a major part of his responsibility for the nazi murders, for Minsk and Lviv, for Majdanek and Oświęcim, giving him the right to

appear before the court of nations in the guise of an "unstained" idealist and peacemaker, who, allegedly, out of a great love for Western culture, decided to flee to England.

That the accused nazi ringleaders will adopt such a line of defense is confirmed by their tactics in choosing witnesses to speak on their behalf. Schacht, for instance, is painstakingly seeking out witnesses to testify that in 1938 and 1941 he was involved in a plot against Hitler. Pappen will resort to approximately the same trick.

Grand Admiral Raeder makes far more modest demands on his witnesses: all they have to do is to confirm his congenial nature. Hitler's Minister of Armaments and War Production Speer has proven to be a peculiar optimist. He hopes to find people who will tell the court that he, Speer, was doing certain things in defiance of the *Führer's* will, for which the Führer once called him an apolitical person.

Fritz Sauckel, the torturer and hangman of millions of young Soviet men and women who were driven to Germany as slave labor, refers to his wife who allegedly knows that he, Sauckel, recommended that foreign workers be treated in a friendly manner. The chief "theoretician" of the nazi brand of anti-Semitism, Julius Streicher, is searching in vain for witnesses who would corroborate his "Zionist point of view" on the Jewish question. No wonder Streicher's maneuvers caused legal circles to suspect that this filthy editor of the dirty *Der Stürmer* may simulate insanity.

Joachim von Ribbentrop, one of the most untiring warmongers, is calling witnesses from among his former colleagues. Theirs is an unusually difficult task: to prove that Ribbentrop opposed Hitler's war preparations. For this purpose he has invited our old acquaintance — Lady Astor. However, in this case Ribbentrop was out of luck: he forgot that what was seemly in 1939 bacame shocking in 1945. Enraged by such an inopportune familiarity, Lady Astor flatly refused to go to Nuremberg and told reporters from the British newspapers that von Ribbentrop wouldn't benefit from her testimony in any case.

Admiral Doenitz also forgot that times had changed. He attempted to prove that the measures he employed (the heartless sinking of all Allied shipping without exception)

were caused by the "tactical interests of submarine warfare," and invited Lieutenant Commander Jack of the German Fleet as a witness. He did not know, however, that a couple of weeks before, Lieutenant Commander Jack had been sentenced by a British military court to execution by firing squad for his outright murder of unarmed Greek sailors trying to save their lives when he sank their cargo ship.

Hans Frank, erstwhile Governor-General of Poland and Galicia, did not fare any better in his choice of witnesses. He wanted to have subpoenaed the Polish economist Młynarski, notorious for his collaboration with the Hitlerites as director of a bank of issue in occupied Poland. Some months ago, the vile personality of Młynarski again came to light: despite protests from the Polish public, a group of reactionary professors elected this collaborationist member of the Polish Academy of Sciences. As much as Młynarski would like to do his former master a good turn, it is doubtful that he will have the courage to state publicly that this executioner of the Polish people was allegedly trying to alleviate the hard lot of the Poles.

The defendants still nourish hopes. With the despair of the doomed they clutch at straws. Those who were not only light-hearted but actually delighted in sending tens of millions of people to die in torment, are now trembling at the thought of their own deaths. Overwhelmed by the horrible burden of the indictment, they resort to the most intricate judicial tricks, cynically referring to the law at every opportunity — to the law which they had scorned and trampled like no one else before them.

An abominable spectacle indeed!

[1945]

DOCUMENT OF INFAMY

At the Nuremberg Trials many memos by German *Führers, Leiters* and their attendants — all those Quislings, big and small — were read. Here is one such memo. The document was made public only in part. However, it commands our attention not only because of its contents regarding the destiny of the Ukrainians of the western regions under German occupation. Addressed to the former Hitlerite Governor-General and the now defendant Hans Frank, the memo was written by the ill-famed chairman of the so-called Ukrainian Assistance Committee, the Gestapo agent Wolodymyr Kubijowytsch.

Dated February 1943, it reads: "...I am sending you a letter describing the critical conditions and unpleasant events which have created an extraordinarily serious situation for the Ukrainian population of the *Generalgouvernement.* Under the present conditions the Ukrainians do not feel secure regarding either their property or their lives... Inhuman treatment, cruel exploitation of labor force, groundless arrests and literally mass executions are exceedingly frequent occurrences in our day. The wild and ruthless manhunt, as exercised everywhere in town and country, in streets, squares, stations, even in churches, at night in homes, has badly shaken the feeling of security of the inhabitants. Each is exposed to the danger of seizure without warning anywhere and at any time by the police, and subsequently of being sent to an assembly camp. None of his relatives knows what has happened to him... The Ukrainians are frequently abused, defamed, and even beaten by German soldiers..."

Further on we read: "On January 15 special actions were launched against so-called antisocial elements in Galicia. In its territory some 5,000 people were arrested. It was said that this was done to facilitate the work of the authorities by isolating those who trade illicitly on the black market and who shirk work."

As we shall see later on, Kubijowytsch is deeply concerned

that all these measures did not in the least facilitate the work of the German occupation authorities. For the time being, though, he sheds crocodile tears on the SS uniform of Governor-General Frank:

"In connection with the mentioned measures, a raid on St. George's Cathedral in Lviv was organized. The raid, and especially the behavior of the police in this holy place, aroused profound indignation in the residents."

True, Kubijowytsch wasn't too much worried about the incident. You see, he was more disturbed by the fact that the raid "was immediately used by hostile propaganda..." What irritated him most were the accounts of Lviv's residents who said that under Soviet rule "no such raids on St. George's Hill were made, and that Soviet lecturers and students, who visited this place a number of times, displayed more respect for it than did the Germans."

However, the Ukrainian nazi Kubijowytsch wouldn't be acting in character, if then and there he were not to wag his tail before his immediate master. And, God forbid, so as not to insult "His Excellency," he whitewashes well in advance Frank and his Hitlerite bonzes, placing all the blame on the "lower ranks" of the German army and administration.

⋙

Overleaf. The nazi plan of "depopulation" of the Slavic lands in action.
In a moment the door of the boxcar No. 38 will slide closed cutting off another group of people from their native land. On arriving at their destination, they are to be "segregated": able-bodied men and women will work as slaves until they are completely exhausted, children will be used for "medical experiments" or go straight into gas chambers.

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In an ecstasy of servility, Kubijowytsch writes:

"The Ukrainian peasant is willing to bear the greatest hardships and to make the heaviest sacrifices for the military aims of the Reich."

Kubijowytsch had known, of course, how to cut the German pie ever since he sold his beggarly soul to the nazi Satan. Just as he certainly knew of the things which Sauckel, Hitler's plenipotentiary for slave labor, spoke about so reservedly during the inquest, so he also was informed of the other things mentioned in the documents presented at the Nuremberg Trials: about the Germans' plan to deport tens of thousands of children from Ukraine to "reduce the biological possibilities of the enemy" and about the mass executions of these children. He knew only too well that the methods of labor "recruitment" were determined not at all by the "lower ranks" but by Adolf Hitler himself. Kubijowytsch also knew that from the first day of the war the attitude of the Ukrainian people toward the Germans was utterly unequivocal. As a result of this attitude both Frank and his Kubijowytsch had to bid farewell once and for all not only to Ukraine, but also to all their dreams about her...

Why then did Kubijowytsch sweat over the long memos addressed to Frank who knew what was really going on in the Galicia he administrated? Kubijowytsch didn't do this for history's sake. He realized that the German butcher ax, while felling the Ukrainian forest, was also involuntarily chopping down the tree on which both he and Hans Frank were sitting.

There was yet another reason for this belated lamentation; namely the realization that the German invaders ceased to reckon with him, and the fear that — who knows! — he, Kubijowytsch, might meet the fate of those millions of people out of whom his masters had plagued their lives. Writing about the executions of the Ukrainian intelligentsia, he confirms the lack of any influence by the yellow-blue nazis over the policy of the Germans:

"...Engineer Andriy Pyasetsky, a forester from Yaniv near Lviv, was shot, although, besides me and Dr. Kost Pankivsky, the Reichsdeutsche Y. Zh. vouched for him."

By way of adding flesh to the description of the writer of this memo, it should be mentioned that on every occasion, in

1943 and, later on, in 1944, the very same Kubijowytsch heading a delegation of his collaborators visited the Kraków estate of Frank to solemnly thank him and Hitler for "the kindness they have lavished on the Ukrainian people..."

This year Hans Frank, for the first time during the last few years, will be deprived of the opportunity of receiving Kubijowytsch's New Year's greetings. It stands to reason that this time the latter, contented to know that he did not meet the same fate as Frank, won't even make the effort of shaking hands with his former benefactor.

It's a pity, though! It was probably to him and his kin that the Bavarian Minister of the Interior referred in a recent speech in Augsburg. Herr Schmitt stated: "Hitler brought to Germany quite a few fascists from other countries. One of the main reasons they do not want to return to their countries is the fear of deserved punishment that awaits them there. However, in agreement with the military administration, the camps of foreigners will be cleansed of fascist elements."

The time is long overdue when the large building of the national museum in Munich, instead of harboring all the filth of the Hitlerite riffraff, should again become an abode of the Muses.

[1945]

JOACHIM VON...

Joachim von Ribbentrop feels rather uncomfortable playing the role of a defendant: he aged ten years in a few months. He was much more comfortable as a minister, of course, but now Ribbentrop is reluctant to speak about that period of his life.

The trial brought to life some peculiar details of that time.

Ribbentrop was a rather "mediocre" personality by the nazi top men standards when he first occupied the ministerial post

in Wilhelmstrasse. He could only boast of a wine business and a modest house.

However, Ribbentrop managed to catch up with his colleagues in the cabinet in the course of two (literally two) years. He became the owner of five estates. The first had "only" 1,715 hectares of plowland and woodland (Ribbentrop was an avid hunter). There was a second, no smaller, estate near Aachen and two more in Slovakia.

The story of Ribbentrop's fifth estate with a picturesque castle in Tyrol is a rather romantic one. The Reichsminister took such a liking to the castle that he didn't give its owner, Count von Ritten, a minute's peace. But the count had not the slightest desire to part with his patrimonial estate. The imprudent von Ritten did not know that by his obstinacy he signed his own death sentence.

Soon Ribbentrop lost his temper and took the first opportunity to tell Hitler about the obstinate Austrian aristocrat who was openly reluctant to meet the wish of a Third Reich minister.

Yes, that was outrageous indeed! Hitler was no less offended than Ribbentrop himself. Ribbentrop's motives did not embarrass the *Führer* in the least. The good things of the world were first of all intended for his paladins. He knew the price of these things: they made the greatest of scoundrels unbribable, and even ferocious tigers became obedient mongrels on their golden leashes.

Hitler picked up the phone and called Göring. He choked up with anger whenever he saw this fat hog. Hitler hated Göring because he, the dictator of the Third Reich, could not do without him and because Hitler felt barely concealed contempt in Göring's voice, however much flattery the Reichsmarschall put into it. Hitler would never forget and never forgive Göring the fact that in critical moments the devilish cunning of this tireless bull with an aristocratic profile proved useful — very useful — to the Third Reich, smashing the *Führer's* self-confidence to smithereens and making him feel a helpless fool in front of this mountain of fat. Whenever Göring bent his head in a servile bow, Hitler recoiled from him as if afraid of being hit by this head — the only head in the Third Reich that was cunning enough to put an end to the miraculous career of Adolf Schicklgruber.

Later, in the deadly ring of fire, Hitler would remember Göring for the last time and with a hand trembling with the fear of death would write an order to arrest his hated accomplice. But now, when their bridges were not burnt yet and he saw a ghost of victory through the flames of the future war, Hitler couldn't help feeling helpless: he had to accept the services of this three-hundred-pound fox. Accept them until he, Adolf Schicklgruber born near Linz, set both of his feet firmly on the globe and could do without Hermann Göring...

Meanwhile, that day was far away and Hitler had to accept Göring's services more often than he wished. The dirtier the jobs Göring was given the better: Hitler wanted to humiliate his Reichsmarschall.

Hitler heard a rustling sound in the receiver and choked up with anger in spite of himself. As always in such situations, he used his deep baritone to explain the case of von Ritten to Göring.

"Will do! Will do, mein *Führer,*" said Göring in a quiet voice. Hitler put down the phone, struggling to control himself. Then he looked up at Ribbentrop and calmed down. The dark blue of the tyrant's eyes became lighter. There was someone else at his side, and this someone was not at all like Göring and didn't make him so nervous.

...Göring usually kept his word in cases like this. The next day Gestapo men appeared at the count's estate and showed him a warrant for his arrest. It began with the words: "By order of the *Führer...*" Göring used the same words to reject the pleas of the count's relatives who tried to free the ill-fated prisoner.

Joachim von Ribbentrop became the "rightful" owner of the confiscated castle. There were not and could not be any legal objections: after a couple of months in a concentration camp, von Ritten was reduced to a shadow of a man. One day this shadow was dispersed by a merciful bullet of an SS man.

Today Ribbentrop the defendant is not only reluctant to reveal these details of the ways and means of Ribbentrop the minister. He simply... "does not remember them." He remembers neither the von Ritten case, nor a similar story of a certain Luther, an official at Ribbentrop's ministry who was rash enough to quarrel with his chief.

"I was not present and I do not remember..." is the stock answer of Ribbentrop the defendant whenever he has to answer questions concerning such unpleasant details. He even gave a reason for this loss of memory, an exceptional case in the history of medicine. This reason is — taking overdoses of bromide. His nerves were frayed by the last years of his career and he had to take bromide in large, unbelievably large doses.

But this has not exhausted Ribbentrop's complaints. He not only lost his memory, but also his independence as an individual. This evidence was obligingly provided by Ribbentrop's witness, his personal secretary Margaret Blank, who said: "Herr von Ribbentrop subordinated his thoughts to the thoughts of the *Führer*. The thoughts of Hitler were his thoughts."

To make a long story short, Ribbentrop was not a minister, but an automaton. He, as well as his witnesses, forgot one thing, though. Even an automaton must be done away with when it becomes harmful to human beings.

Ribbentrop loves to read Hoffman's stories both in his cell and in court. This might explain why he felt so comfortable playing the part of an automaton. He has identified himself so profoundly with this role that when he recalls Hitler his bass voice takes on a velvety note and tears of affection well up in his eyes. He would willingly believe in the supernatural power of the *Führer* if only it would somehow reduce the burden of his responsibility for the crimes he has committed. But there are literally tons of incriminating documents. They destroy utterly his carefully worked out and memorized line of defense.

As long as Ribbentrop answers the questions of his defense attorney, everything seems to be all right. Ribbentrop's low voice, so unusual for his feeble frame, drones on evenly and smoothly interspersed by lyrical overtones. His phrases — smooth, trimmed and polished to perfection — flow like a declamation. Even if you do not know the rules of punctuation properly you can feel where he puts a period, comma or semicolon. At times you get the impression that this is not a courtroom, but a conference hall in Wilhelmstrasse where Herr Reichsminister is holding a press conference using his flexible

tongue of an accomplished diplomat to reassure his listeners of the utterly peaceful disposition of the nazi government.

The picture changes completely when the prosecutor takes the place of the defense attorney. Then the Reichsminister turns before our eyes into a crafty schoolboy from whom the teacher has taken away his crib during examinations. At first the schoolboy is at a loss, speaking slowly and languidly, pleading illness, and then, in desperation, he plunges into a mire of verbal whitewash.

Much is said in diplomacy, but not every word of a diplomat is true, states Ribbentrop at the trial.

Sir David Maxwell-Fyfe, the British prosecutor to whom these words are addressed, asks reproachfully whether there could not be at least a grain of truth in diplomatic language.

Ribbentrop keeps a sullen silence. His brain is working feverishly as he tries to dig up from the recesses of his memory an incident when Ribbentrop the diplomat spoke a word of truth. He fails, for there was no such incident. Ribbentrop nervously adjusts his tie, raises his eyes to the ceiling, and describes a large ellipse with his hand.

"There might have been a situation when I had to speak..." the word "truth", so unusual for Ribbentrop, is stuck in his throat. Mentally he is leafing the glossary of his vague diplomatic vocabulary and at long last digs up what he needs: "...in harsh terms."

Hours and days pass. Ribbentrop defends himself desperately trying to bury the sense of his answers in a mire of verbosity. When asked by Lieutenant-General Rudenko why he delivered long speeches when a mere "yes" or "no" would suffice, Ribbentrop answers promptly:

"I talk so much because of the state of my health."

The question has its effect, but not for long. In an hour or half an hour Ribbentrop will again have a saving fit of verbosity. Meanwhile, he makes his answers as short as possible but, like all the previous ones, they are vague and evasive.

"Do you not consider the seizure of the Czechoslovak Republic an act of aggression?" Lieutenant-General Rudenko asks.

"No, it was a necessity prompted by the geographical location of Germany."

"And what about the attack on Poland?"

"The attack on Poland was caused by the attitude of other powers."

"And the attack on the USSR?"

"It was not aggression in the direct sense of the word. Aggression is... a very complex notion..."

Having coped thus with the definition of aggression, Joachim von Ribbentrop looks askance at the wall where the gilded hands of the clock point to midday. There is still a whole hour to go till the saving recess. Ribbentrop wipes the sweat off his brow, though a sepulchral cold blows from the numerous ventilators in the hall.

Joachim von Ribbentrop feels hot and cramped, as if he were in a coffin. Ribbentrop is gasping for air and he looks like a man who suddenly glanced in the face of unrelenting death. Perhaps Ribbentrop recalls the wildly desperate eyes of the people whom Horthy, on Ribbentrop's categorical orders, sent to death chambers of Oświęcim three years ago. There were six hundred thousand of them...

But no, it's not of them that Ribbentrop is thinking at this dark hour. Any minute, it seems, tears will flow from his dropsical eyes, and the Reichsminister will weep over his lot. He is not able to weep over anything else. His soul is too petty and mean for that.

1946

MURDERERS UNDER THE GUISE OF EMIGRES

A secret report of a Gestapo operation group, published at the Nuremberg Trials, reads:

"We had it difficult engineering a Jewish pogrom in Kaunas on a large scale. The ringleader of the already mentioned Lithuanian nationalist group Klimatis who was the first to have been engaged for this task managed to carry through

the pogrom on instructions of the Kaunas Gestapo. He did it in such a way that outwardly no German involvement or German instigation was evident. During the first pogrom on the night of June 25—26, 1941 the Lithuanian nationalists exterminated over 1,500 Jews, burned or destroyed by other means quite a few synagogues, and sent up in smoke a Jewish neighborhood with 60 houses. In the succeeding nights, 2,300 Jews were exterminated in the same manner. Following the example of Kaunas, similar actions were undertaken in other regions of Lithuania, although not on such a large scale, and, moreover, these actions were extended to include the communists who had not been liquidated."

A lot of things have changed since then.

The flags of the four great powers on the building of the Nuremberg Palace of Justice symbolize the victory of civilized society over barbarity. The six years of fascist pogroms exacted all too much blood, tears and ruins. This must not, it cannot be repeated, lest the future generations curse their fathers. Those who had made brute physical force their god, let them feel the might of the punishing hand today. Should this hand grow weak, the dark forces of fascism will extinguish the sun of the new day, and the world will again be plunged into an abysmal night.

Much has changed since the Soviet tanks ended the march of victory of the peace-loving nations on the streets of Prague. Göring isn't a Göring any more, but one of the defendants — a legitimate candidate for the life-snatching gallows, and his Norwegian agent Quisling was accepted into the bosom of the devil. Looking out from behind the bars of the Gestapo torture chambers now are the executioners themselves: *Obergruppenführers, Untersturmführers, Gauleiters,* and *Kreisleiters.* That entire mob of nazi skinners and marauders is biting its fingernails today for fear of punishment.

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Overleaf. Exhumation of the remains of victims of the profascist nationalist criminals.

But, I beg your pardon, not all of them behave that way. To become convinced of this, it is enough to visit the US occupation zone for a week or two. Strange as it may seem, but precisely here, in the territory controlled by the masters of the Nuremberg Prison, where the Görings, Kaltenbrunners, Ribbentrops, and Franks await a just sentence to be pronounced, refuge has been found by those whose bloody deeds are commented on by the US prosecution at the Nuremberg Trials with such understandable indignation.

I do not want to sound as if I lack proof. The reason I have mentioned the Lithuanian nazi band of Klimatis at the beginning of this report is, above all, because all of them are now living in clover in the suburbs of Zalzburg occupied by the US troops. The leftovers from Himmler's agency — the fussy Gestapo riffraff, "heroes" of the gory Kaunas nights, professional murderers, marauders, burglars, and run-of-the-mill crooks — are no worse off here than they had been a year ago, when they had to execute the orders of *Reichsführer* SS Himmler, who was a whimsical and unceremonious character with regard to his lackeys.

Here they enjoy perfect impunity. Moreover, certain reactionary quarters consider these murderers emigres.

It is common knowledge that Himmler's agency enlisted not only the Klimatis thugs. It also used the Western Ukrainian nazi Stepan Bandera and his gang. Without exaggerating things, it could be said that the latter breed of nazis surpassed their Lithuanian counterparts in loyal service to Hitler. Admiral Canaris could have told a lot about this service, and General Lahousen of Hitler's *Abwehr* could have told no less, but did not want to, at the Nuremberg Trials. Incidentally, documents are irrelevant when it comes to the crimes of Bandera's men, although a lot of the documents have been left behind in the archives of the Lviv and Berlin Gestapo. What need is there in documents when tens of thousands of murdered, crippled and raped people shout the truth that glares at you out of the ruins of what had once been a multitude of human homes set on fire by Bandera's cutthroats.

The Ukrainian nationalists, regardless of whether they belonged to the Bandera of Melnyk gang, were employed as

subversion units by the Gestapo from the first day of its existence. Drilled and coached in special schools, the OUN thugs carried out the orders of the Gestapo and the *Abwehr* in almost all the countries of Europe long before the war. In September 1939, as Lahousen himself testified, they received the same orders from the commander-in-chief of the *Wehrmacht* as the Lithuanian nazis did from the Gestapo operation group in 1941. They carried out these orders with the dexterity of professional killers. By these very same orders, the Ukrainian nazis became the *Wehrmacht's* vanguard force of subversion right from the outset of Hitler's war against our country. The Gestapo used them for mass executions of Soviet citizens of Ukrainian, Polish and Russian nationality.

In the winter of 1941—1943 the German-armed bands of Ukrainian nazis launched a furious attrition campaign against the partisans on orders from the Gestapo, while at the same time, in effecting Himmler's will, they started the total extermination of Polish civilians in the western regions of Soviet Ukraine occupied by the German troops. The "security service," which the bands organized on the pattern of the nazi Police SD, terrorized people ill-disposed toward Germany, and hunted down Soviet pilots and parachutists, either killing or handing them over to the German police. The nationalists in the "Ukrainian" police set up by the Germans closely collaborated with Hans Frank, Governor-General of Poland, to the last day of the war, assisting him in plundering Poland and Galicia and in supplying Germany with slave labor from these lands.

That's enough, it seems. Enough to understand that we are dealing with downright fascists in this case. Enough to have them immediately, at the first best opportunity, put in the very same dock in which the nazis from almost all of Europe have been made to answer for their gory crimes today. But what do we actually see? The Banderas, Melnyks and Kubijowytsches have built themselves a lair side by side with Klimatis in the US occupation zone.

They even have their own committees which send agents into the territory of the Ukrainian SSR; the Banderas receive their reports here, and here, through different channels, they get the money from their confederates in the Western hemi-

sphere. They exploit adroitly the difficult position of the Western Ukrainian youth who had been brought to Germany for slave labor, and demoralize it with tales about the horrors they were supposed to have witnessed in Soviet Ukraine.

When need be, they pull the wool over the Americans' eyes and call themselves Poles. You can see such newly-fledged "Poles" as many as you wish in the camp of Polish emigrants at Fürt, where they are received as dear guests for all that their hands are stained with the blood of Polish infants. Birds of a feather flock together, you know.

The international tribunal, in trying the major nazi war criminals at Nuremberg, does not let their accomplices out of sight, because every member of the tribunal realizes that Himmler would have been all too shorthanded in exterminating 26 million people without this petty nazi riffraff.

The US prosecutors at the Nuremberg Trials serve in the very same armed forces that occupy Munich and Salzburg; they are citizens of the very same nation to which the current military commandants of Salzburg or Munich belong, of a nation whose soldiers, in fraternal alliance with the soldiers of our country, sacrificed their young lives in the battles with the nazi murderers. The blood shed jointly by these soldiers as well as the welfare of their children, mothers and wives, demand that all the nazi killers without exception be justly punished, that they be arraigned by the court of the country whose earth is soaked with the blood of their victims.

[1946]

Opposite. Pages of a notebook Yaroslav Halan used at the Nuremberg Trials.

Герінг ~~ро~~ дроблення
бізнеса.
- Гітлер призначає Герінга
головою імперського військо-
вого суду.
Цей суд був перерваний
в зв'язку з передбачуваним
нападом на Австрію.
Відновив роботу за
тиждень.
Судом було встановлено
невинність Герінга
та прийняв відповідальні
військові посади.
- Ген. Іодл - стає на чолі
загальних (начальник
генерального штабу).
- Ген. Мільх - керівник вспо
ми воєнної авіації.
Відповідальність]

WE ARE THE ACCUSERS

It's been a long time, a very long time, since the press box has been so crowded as today, when the representative of the Soviet prosecution, General Rudenko, took the floor. The trials attracted such a large number of correspondents only during their first days.

The members of the Tribunal took their places, and Lord Justice Lawrence opened the court session. General Rudenko took the floor. For the first time in its history, the Nuremberg *Justizpalast* * resounded with the Russian language, so dear to all Slavs and so powerful. It is not only its intonation that makes it sound different from the other languages spoken here: in it one can hear the great wrath of the Soviet people, as well as the firm logic, consistency and clear political purpose all those present at the trials had expected.

The interest aroused by Rudenko's speech was great. The representatives of the countless newspapers and agencies could not help but be impressed by the first appearance of Rudenko and Pokrovsky. It is doubtful, though, whether all the correspondents will write what they say. The Hearst press and tabloids of the *Daily Mail* type have their own rules and "morals"...

The representatives of the Slavic nations are truly appreciative. They have found in the Soviet people not only a champion of their right to freedom and life, but also an outspoken witness to the horrible and irreparable injustices they have suffered. Warsaw, Lidice and Novi Sad — these three names are now synonymous with disaster for the nations in which they are located. Today the Soviet prosecutor is speaking on behalf of all these oppressed peoples; he speaks of their glory and their suffering, of their sacred right to a just and severe punishment of those who are to blame for these people's great tragedies. He puts all this across not in the stiff language of a professional lawyer, but in words

* *Justizpalast* (Ger.) — Palace of Justice.

reflecting both the pain of mankind and the sincere sorrow of a plundered and blood-flooded Soviet Ukraine and the hatred of fascism felt by all Soviet people, who suffered most and who, suffering as they did, were the most staunch in the struggle. That explains the tears in the eyes of our Slavic brothers on this historic day.

As might have been expected, it was a black day for the accused nazis. The very appearance of the representative of the Soviet prosecution on the podium so much hated by them threw the erstwhile stars of the Third Reich into a panic. But the temperature in the dock reached boiling point only when the courtroom resounded with the ardent words of the prosecutor. Accustomed to the somewhat monotonous and dull style of the previous prosecutors, the defendants became agitated: they flushed, paled and curved their lips in what was meant to resemble sarcastic smiles. Göring and Hess demonstratively took off their earphones, Frank pretended to read a book, while Rosenberg did not put his earphones at all — he knew Russian well enough...

When General Rudenko started reading the twentieth page of the indictment, Hess turned yellow as a lemon and hung his head so low it seemed that at any moment it would disappear from sight. Finally he had to be led out of the courtroom. Göring did not manage to keep his composure and air of feigned indifference for long: suddenly, he grabbed his earphones...

Keitel, always outwardly so composed, also lost his self-confidence — the first time this has happened to him in the courtroom. It was Ribbentrop who provoked him. Upon hearing that the archives of the German Foreign Ministry had been seized by the Red Army, Ribbentrop grew ashen. He abruptly turned to Keitel and asked indignantly, "What! You allowed that to happen?" You should have seen the former Field Marshal at that moment. He turned blue in the face, trembled and waved his hands: "Leave me, leave me alone, go to hell!"

Keitel's nervousness is not hard to understand.

But this is only the beginning...

1946

IT FINALLY HAPPENED

The Nuremberg gallows have done their job. The strong Liverpool ropes conclusively did away with ten major criminals. The eleventh — Hermann Göring — was saved from the gallows by potassium cyanide.

Those who had prepared death chambers for a good half of mankind met a deserved end. They met it just as one would expect of mass murderers: their feet trembling, their faces contorted with terror. The greatest comedian in this line of bloodstained comedians, Hermann Göring, completely lost his nerve. On the fifth day after the verdict was announced, his pen fell out of his trembling hand, and in blind horror this generous distributor of death crept into the darkest hole of his prison cell. The cynical murderer Hans Frank stuck his nose into a prayer book and pounded his chest loudly so as to make the repentance of the newly converted Catholic heard not only in the Vatican, but also by the Control Commission for Germany, in whose hands his short future now rested. Rosenberg and Sauckel, who with a light heart gave death warrants to millions of people, kept pestering their guards day and night asking whether an answer to their request for a pardon had come from Berlin... Even Keitel and Jodl, who up to now had been so comfortable playing the role of "obscure soldiers" and upon hearing the verdict asked only that the noose be replaced by a bullet — resembled human scrap devoid of any trace of human dignity before the execution. Thus, in a reek of fear, in a state of complete moral decline, the recent tyrants and butchers of Eupore receded into the murk of oblivion.

Some might be surprised by the glaring contrast between the conduct of the Nuremberg defendants during the trials and in the face of impending death. The Cöring in the witness box had nothing in common with the Gőring on the eve of his execution. Speaking before the Tribunal he behaved at times as if he were facing not his judges, but the "deputies" of Hitler's Reichstag.

Neither did Ribbentrop, Keitel or Streicher betrayed any particular discomposure. At times it seemed that this was a sort of discussion club where the nazi ringleaders substantiated their viewpoints with varying degrees of fervor rather than the session hall of the International Tribunal. There is no denying the fact that their behavior was too unconstrained.

There were reasons for this, of course. When Göring went to the dock to take his place at the microphone, the end of the trial was still a long way off. The newspapers, which the defendants read greedily over the shoulders of their defense attorneys, evoked hopes in Görings that time would work in their favor. After the Fulton speech, Churchill gained the proportions of a fairy-tale knight in their eyes who one fine morning would open the gates of freedom to them and, recalling their vocations and skill, would let them be tied to his chariot.

Like all their associates at large, they hoped for a Third World War. For them, a third war seemed like a fairy godmother that would miraculously give them back their former wealth and power and the opportunity to materialize the plans of the Third Reich in the framework of a Fourth Reich...

From the first day of the trials, they and their defense attorneys waited with bated breath for any signs of discord between the Tribunal members, and for their part, did everything possible to provoke such discord. They also shaped their tactics toward this end: the adulatory smiles and nods of agreement were meant for the British while the sarcastic grimaces and feigned inadvertence were strictly for the Soviet prosecutors.

The Nuremberg defendants also sought help from the Germans — the same Germans whom they had besmirched with indelible shame, whose country they had brought to cataclysmic ruin. When questioned about the responsibility of the German people for the war, "fat Hermann" magnanimously rejoined: "The German people are innocent..." But it was only a test shot. Regarding the dormant nazi sympathies of inveterate philistines as the voice of the German people, Göring, in league with the other defendants, appealed not so much to the Tribunal as to the German in the street.

Herein we should seek the main reasons for the self-confidence of the accused nazis throughout the trials, the self-confidence which in no way differed from common impudence.

Today no trace of it remains.

The hopes of Göring & Co. for the rift between the Allied nations were shattered in the face of reality which proved infuriating to the defendants. Their hopes for a clash of dissenting opinions between the International Tribunal members were also shattered, for if such differences did occur, they did not save the nazi murderers from the punishment they deserved a million times over. Contrary to the cherished hopes of Görings, the nations' conscience proved to be more powerful than all the behind-the-scenes machinations of the pro-fashist tricksters from the Munich gang. It was the 26 million tortured to death who had the last word at the trials, and this word sealed the fates of the nazi criminals.

Neither did Görings gain anything by attempting to make advances to the German people. An hour after the verdict was read, the streets leading to the Nuremberg *Justizpalast* were filled by thousands of German workers. These Germans came to protest against the verdict, but only against that part of it which acquitted Schacht, Pappen and Fritzsche. Similar demonstrations, but larger in number, took place in Berlin, Leipzig, Hamburg and other industrial centers of Germany. It was under pressure from these Germans that the Bavarian police were compelled to put Schacht behind bars again barely hours after he was released from the Nuremberg prison. Görings lost the game: the German in the street, who for years had been deceived by Görings, spoke up at last using the same language as the court of justice in the final analysis.

In the margin of one of Admiral Canaris's memoranda concerning the extermination of Soviet POWs, Keitel wrote the following: "We are dealing here with the destruction of an ideology and, therefore, I approve of such measures and sanction them." When Keitel was sentenced to death by hanging for "approving and sanctioning" these atrocities, the criminal suddenly recalled his "soldier's honor" and asked that the noose be replaced by an "honorable" bullet... Such was the

double meaning of Keitels' morals, such was their *Weltanschauung* *

Keitel's petition was rejected. He was strung up side by side with Ribbentrop, Kaltenbrunner, Rosenberg, Frank, Fricke, Streicher, Jodl, and Seyss-Inquart. The epilogue to their shameful life could be only a shameful death. And it came to them in the end.

Yes, that was the only kind of death that the authors and principal executives of the nazi *Weltanschauung* of legalized cannibalism and insurpassable barbarity could meet. Along with them, on an imaginary eleventh gallows, dangled the specter of nazism thrice accursed by the whole mankind.

Although the dragon's teeth it has sown have sprouted into poisonous weeds on the fields of two continents, we know that now the world will not be trampled asunder by the Hitlerites just as Gőring will never rise from the grave.

Long and hazardous was the path of the freedom-loving nations to victory over the black hordes of nazi barbarity. And if today we heave a sigh of relief upon hearing that the culprits of the greatest tragedy the world has ever seen have been executed, let us not forget to pay homage to the officers and men of the Red Army who in fierce and unequal combat held out, won, and brought the principal nazi criminals to the court of nations.

This was something more than a feat. It was the realization of humankind's cherished dream of the victory of good over the forces of evil.

1946

VAMPIRES

Two years ago the last German soldier and the last German policeman were kicked out of our country. One year has passed since Japan's capitulation marked the finale of this

* *Weltanschauung* (Ger.) — philosophy of life.

horrible war. The Berlin-Tokyo axis, crushed to pieces, has disappeared in the abyss of the past, while its engineers, who have saved their lives, are today humbly huddled in the dock.

After the First World War, a book appeared in Germany whose title was eventually to become a household phrase: "the emperor has gone — the generals stayed behind." Applied to our days, it could be paraphrased in the following way: "the fascist generals have gone — the fascist orderlies stayed behind." And it must be said that these orderlies of Hitler, these offspring of the fascist devil, have stayed behind in some number. Europe's criminal chronicle of events convincingly proves this point.

During the past few years armed bands have been creeping from the forests first in one district and then in another of Western Ukraine, leaving in their wake blazing fires and the screams of people who have been murdered on the sly. These sadistic murders would make Octave Mirbeau's wild fantasies pale in comparison. Without the slightest hesitation they apply methods of total extermination adopted from Himmler: there is no escape from their knives even for infants.

When the punishing arm of the people deals them a devastating blow, these survivors regroup into small bands and, disguising their true visages as much as possilble, continue to ply their bloody trade. At times two or three well-concealed brigands manage to hold a whole village in a grip of terror. An anonymous letter dropped by the threshold of a home, some shots fired through windows in the dead of night, one or two surreptitious murders — all this create an atmosphere of unremitting fright, which weighs heavily on the heart of the peasant, undermining his will to live and to work. This is exactly what the brigands of the night are striving for.

Now, who are they?

After the First World War, there were also bandits in the lands between the rivers Zbruch and San. Then the forest thickets also concealed death and the "knights of the long knife," who prowled the highways. However, there is a great difference between the banditry of those days and that of today; one reason is that the Galician and Volhynian cutthroats of the 1920s were good-natured gentlemen compared with

their followers of today. For although the Hitlers have gone, the Banderas stayed behind. Bound body and soul to fascism and its system, they continue to act out of habit even after their Mecca, nazi Berlin, has been turned into shambles, and their fathers and patrons from the Gestapo and the German intelligence service have died or found themselves behind prison bars. So far, the Banderas have been lucky enough to give the gallows the slip, and they act, according to all the rules of fascist tactics.

Terror isn't the sole weapon at their disposal. This mob of mean cutthroats and adventurers from the prewar OUN, of exposed Gestapo and German policemen, SS men from the Division Halichina, mercenaries from the band of the recently hanged Vlasov, deserters run amok in the woods, rural and urban criminals with "dirty records," and teenagers demoralized by the German occupation — they all have their Himmlers, and they also have their Goebbelses, who are just as deceitful, double-faced and cynical as their already dead prototype.

The watchwords "independence" and "united Ukraine" have become part and parcel of their repertoire. The consequences of these Banderite notions of "independence" and a "united Ukraine" had been very well demonstrated during the war years: Bandera never trespassed — and by his nature he could not have done so — beyond the limits of the instruction issued by the All-Germany Gestapo chief Müller. Even as a fictitious inmate of the Sachsenhausen concentration camp he steadily made sure that his bands would not, God fordid, deviate from the path charted by the Gestapo; with this purpose in mind, he met quite frequently with Müller at the camp office, and with his head bowed low, listened to the advice and instructions of the highly ranking guest.

Today Bandera has even less chance of reviewing a parade of his madcaps and marauders on Sophia Square in Kiev, and not only because no one in Ukraine wants his fascist brand in "independence" — Bandera is less concerned about the will of the people than about that of his guardians. That's the way it was and always will be.

The point is that things are going badly now: at every step the absence of Himmler, Müller and Witisk is acutely felt.

What about Britain and America? You guessed it! Hitler's orphaned orderlies would be only too glad to swap the battered swastika for the striped banners of the Anglo-Saxons. That is what they write in their reports (available for a small group of readers): "The arrival of Anglo-American troops in Ukraine would be beneficial for our strategy." However, it's a long, long way from the hopes of the Banderites to the actual arrival of these troops, and they know it perfectly well. Firstly, because hardly anyone in the world would dare advance against our country and our army; secondly, since the moment the last stronghold of fascism capitulated, the word "war" has become the most loathsome word among broad segments of the population in Britain and in America.

Even the most militant agitators against the "iron curtain" have to reckon with the sentiments of these masses. Willingly or not, the Banderite lords must also reckon with them. Recently their family circle had to verify the sad news that an anti-Soviet war was unforseeable for the next few years at least. Moreover, they were seriously apprehensive of the fact that the workers of the United States of America would paralyze any attempt to employ the atom bomb against the Soviet Union.

These and similar records of meetings of the cutthroats from the Bandera clique show that the bandits can at times soberly appraise the situation at hand. However, this appraisal is intended only for a limited group of consumers. Whenever the bosses of the cutthroats appear before their rank and file, whenever they try to bring their ideas within reach of the masses through their network of agents, you'll hear quite different things, among which the words "third war" are far more frequently heard than the traditional screams for an "independent" and "united Ukraine."

The slogan "Long Live the Third World War!" did not originate in the heads of the Banderites. Like all their "ideas," it appeared on the banks of the Spree River, in the office of General Stülpnagel, when he realized that there's but one road leading from Stalingrad — the road to the collapse of the Third Reich. On the second day after the collapse became reality, the "third war" was being advanced by the *Werwolf*, and, following *Werwolf's* example, by the entire German nazi

underground movement. The slogan was immediately picked up by the Andersites, Ustashites, Chetniks, * and from there, through the hands of the NSZ, ** it found its way into the programs of the Ukrainian nazis.

Who else but professional adventurists entertain the prospect of a new war today? In this respect the nationalist cutthroats aren't likely to hold any illusions whatsoever. The most important thing for them is to instill panic and distrust, to discourage people from engaging in peaceful and productive work, to deprive them of hope for a better tomorrow, to cultivate in them a sense of the flux and instability of the present state of affairs. Such a psychological assault, sustained by bloody terror at that, pursues only one goal: to hinder the revival of the country, to halt its economic and cultural development, stopping by all means possible the organic transition of the populace of Ukraine's western regions into the creative reality of Soviet life.

Such a "program of action" entertained by the Ukrainian nazis is in full accord with the interest of some British and American circles, popularly called financial circles. And this is precisely why some gentlemen of the American CIC and the British Intelligence Service decided to adopt and maintain the orphaned Ukrainian wards of Himmler.

Of course, the above mentioned financial circles have no reason to be happy about the situation that has developed to the north and south of the Danube. The illusory independence of a number of countries has been replaced by actual independence, above all by an independence from foreign capital, while the colonial methods of management at the enterprises of Ploesti, Plzen, Dąbrowa and Żyrardów have become but a sad song of the past.

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* Anders — Polish general commanding the troops subordinated to the Polish government-in-exile. After WW II the Andersites opposed the establishment of a people's democracy in Poland. Ustashites and Chetniks — Yugoslav fascist units during WW II.

** NSZ — *Narodowe Siły Zbrojne* (lit. people's armed forces) — military units of Polish nationalists, which fought against the establishment of a people's democracy in Poland during and immediately after WW II.

For some, this is difficult, very difficult to accept. Instead, they do everything conceivable and inconceivable to hinder the normalization of political and economic life in those countries which have dared to go their own way, a way corresponding to their vital interests. That is why for some the Polish cutthroats from the NSZ came in very useful.

The Ukrainian nazis were also honored with the attentions of the Anglo-Saxon priests of the golden calf. They received a special assignment. To understand it, it is enough to take a look at the map of Ukraine's western regions. Via Lutsk and Kovel runs the road to Warsaw; via Lviv, to Prague and Budapest. So let the blood of women and children flow on the frontier separating the Soviet Union from the democratic countries liberated by the Red Army, let the fire blaze here if only in this way it will be possible to create at least a slight barrier between us and the Poles, Czechs, and Hungarians; this is apparently what the interest of the stock exchange speculators of London and New York require...

And the nazis obediently go to it: the Ukrainian on this side of the San and Bug rivers, and the Polish on the other. What we see is blissful harmony between the murderers from the NSZ and those of Stepan Bandera. The orders and instructions of Anders are carried out jointly by the two sides.

Some days before the June referendum, * Poland was infiltrated by assassins from the UPA — Korvin, Proryv and Khromenko — in response to a call for help from the NSZ. They began with the destruction of the premises which housed the popular polls commissions. While the NSZ henchmen butchered entire Ukrainian villages beyond the San, the Banderites launched real manhunts for those unfortunates who sought refuge in the territory of Soviet Ukraine. Quite recently in Hrubieszów district, four Ukrainian peasants, who by some miracle had escaped the knives of the NSZ, had the misfortune to fall into the clutches of the Banderites. They were heading eastward, and this was enough for all the four

* Reference to the referendum held in Poland in June 1946, at which the people unanimously voted for the establishment of a people's democracy in that country.

of them to die an agonizing death at the hands of the nationalists, who hung them on the crane of a draw well. Thus, by the will of a clique of pushing businessmen, the Ukrainian and Polish pupils of Himmler are trying with bullets, knives and fire to transform the frontier regions into a desert.

However, this is only one side of the Banderite coin. There is yet another side, obdurately and shamefacedly as the Banderite Mamluks may try to hide it. The fact is that everything the Ukrainian fascists are doing today is done, above all, for the sake of fascist Germany. And everything here means everything: the extermination of the people of the two fraternal Slavic nations, the disorganization of the economy of these countries, and the propagation of bestial chauvinism. Some might say: fascist Germany does not exist any more, she has been broken to pieces. Yes, that's true, but it is also true that "the Hitlers have gone — the Banderas stayed behind."

The gathering of the world's fascists to fascist Germany was not temporary or accidental. It was Germany, and Germany above all, who had all the qualities of becoming the main political and militaristic basis of fascism, the central happy valley of this monstrous international brigandage. Now this Germany is living through dark days. But who can convince the nationalist orderlies that in ten to fifteen years from now she won't become the monster of yesterday?

But they have a precedent, or so they might argue: 1918 and everything that happend afterward. Was it not yesterday's enemies of Germany who then loosened their purse strings to revive her militaristic might, and when the German tiger grew up and growled for human flesh, wasn't it they who allowed the Republic of the Czechs and Slovaks to fall prey to it?

There's a great, a tremendous difference between 1918 and 1945. We all know what the difference is about and so do the fascist orderlies. But they also know that the spirit of Locarno and the spirit of Munich is still alive, alive and kicking. If today Bandera's adherents are hopefully looking toward London and Washington, this doesn't mean at all that they expect an armed intervention from that direction. The Bande-

ras aren't that naive. The cunning blackguards nurse quite different dreams — that history will repeat itself and that their guardian angel, the German phoenix, will again rise from the ashes to be spoonfed and fondled by the followers of Daterding, Chamberlain, Laval and Daladier.

These dreams are sustained every hour of every day by the policy of the occupation authorities in the western zones of Germany.

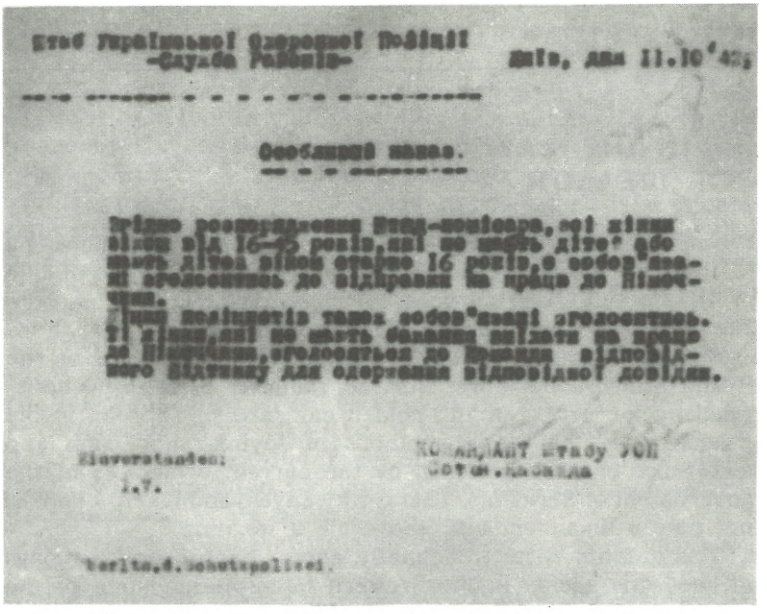
We do not exaggerate the danger which the Banderite movement brings for our people and our country. If we devote so much attention to it, it is mainly because the time has come to guarantee the workers of our land security, a quiet life and ample opportunities to build happiness in their own home.

Truth to tell, the struggle against the nazi cutthroats is not that easy, because these disciples of Canaris and Müller have perfected the art of disguise. A consistent and relentless struggle against the Ukrainian vampires of German fascism must be waged by all the people of the western regions. We must sweep clean our woods and homes from nationalist infanticide, we must squash this fruit of Austro-German policy, the permanent and incorrigible agent of those forces hostile to Ukraine — this is an honorable and urgent task for every one of us.

The nationalist vampires have a history all of their own. Before the Bandera chicken was hatched, the egg had been kept for a long time in the incubator of Hrushevsky and Yefremov, an incubator of misanthropy and banditry. It must be understood that the Banderite movement cannot be conclusively eradicated without rooting out the paltry ideas of Hrushevsky and his followers.

Let us do away with the perpetrators of infanticide, but let us also do away with their creed.

1946



Штаб Української Головної Поліції
-Служба Порядку-

Київ, дня 11.10.'43 р.

Особливий наказ.

Згідно розпорядження Вищого командира, всі дівчата віком від 16-25 років, які не мають дітей або мають дітей віком старше 16 років, є особами, що зголосяться до відправки на працю до Німеччини.

Дівчата поліції також особи, що зголосяться. Ті дівчата, які не мають бажання виїхати на працю до Німеччини, зголосяться до Вищого відповідного відділу для одержання відповідної довідки.

Начальник штабу УОП
Котов.Кабаїда

Einverstanden:
i.V.

Berlin, d. Schutzpolizei.

An order about sending able-bodied women off to nazi Germany for slave labor, signed by Anatoliy Kabaida, a collaborative police chief and one of the OUN ringleaders. Now Anatoliy Kabaida lives in Australia under the assumed name of Zhukovsky.

IN THE MAZE OF TREASON

Sabotage! The Secret War Against America, a book by Michael Sayers and Albert Kahn, was published in the middle of 1942 when Hitler's troops advanced on Stalingrad and the Japanese were set on invading Australia. Five years have passed since then. The Third Reich and the Empire of the Rising Sun are no more. But the vampires of fascism, nourished by the priests of the golden calf, are still abroad in the world, while the fascist methods of spying, subversion and terror are eagerly mastered by the current protectors of the government of Servatius. That is why Sayers and Kahn' s book is not only a document but, above all, a warning.

The authors write trenchantly about the subversive doings of the Axis agents in the Western hemisphere. None of the principal organizers of terror and provocation escapes their attention. They show us a whole gallery of ringleaders of the Fifth Column — from the arch-saboteur von Pappen to such a master of "psyshological warfare" as the crafty Firek. Neither do they remain silent about the American apostles of treason: side by side with the German spy Firek we see his employers — Senator Landin, Colonel Lindbergh, and the *Chicago Tribune* editor McCormick.

THE MAZE

Among this pack of hired killers, international crooks, veterans and young adepts in the spying trade, we find people without a homeland or, to be more precise, pronazi Ukrainian nationalists. The writers of the book cannot be reproached of underestimating the role of these long-standing servants of world reaction, in particular, German imperialism. As the writers noted, the story of how Hitler took the Ukrainian terrorists in hand and made a part of them into a Ukrainian-American fifth column reveals such a maze of international treason and crimes which is unprecedented in the entire ugly history of the underworld of political criminals.

The US authorities cracked this nut all too late. As is frequently the case, it happened by chance.

In 1938 the New York police were confronted with a mystery: a gang of unidentified criminals kidnapped rich people and extorted ransoms from them through torture. One of the victims, a Norman Miller, who got away alive by shelling out 15,000 dollars, stated to the police that while he was held in a torture chamber he had heard church bells ringing and billiard balls clicking. Miller's statement gave the police a clue which helped them establish that the premises of the Ukrainian National Center served as headquarters for the gang, and the criminals were the center's functionaries. Two of them — Dmitro Hula and Yosip Sakoda — were sentenced to death by electrocution for murder, and the rest were given life sentences.

The trial revealed that Hula and Sakoda had been members of a terrorist organization of Ukrainian nationalists — ODVU *(Orhanizatsia druziv vidrodzhennia Ukraini* — Organization of the Friends of the Revival of Ukraine) — which functioned under the direction of Berlin.

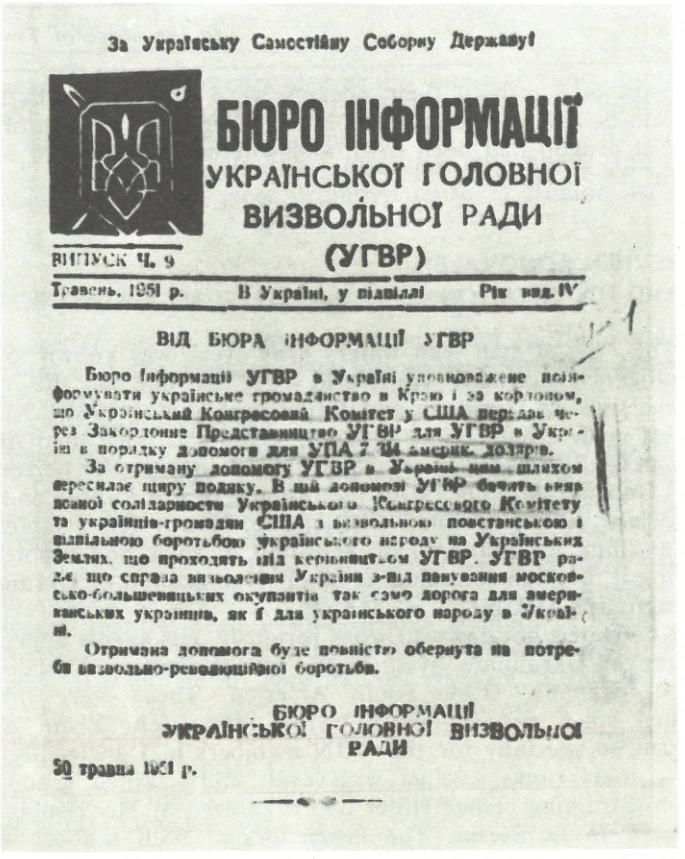
In early 1941 a military court sentenced a US Army Captain for transferring secret information to an agent of a foreign power. This agent proved to be a notorious terrorist, Omelian Senik-Hribivsky.

Senik arrived in the US back in 1931 on a mission of Department III-B of the German *Abwehr* under Colonel Nicolai. On the authority of this master spy, Senik organized the ODVU. Apart from the above-mentioned torture chamber at 217-219 6th Street, Senik built up an entire arsenal at 95th Street and appointed his agents William and Michael Piznyak its supervisors.

Besides ODVU a sister organization, Hetman, appeared in the US, which was created and directed by the Nazi Party's foreign office under Alfred Rosenberg who was hanged at Nuremberg last year. Both the ODVU and Hetman pursued a similar pattern of activities in the US, and through their branches, in Europe and Asia. Their leaders maintained constant contact with the Axis agents wherever they were stationed, be it in North or South America, New York, Rio de Janeiro, Paris or Harbin. No borders existed for these

"...The vampires of fascism, nourished by the priests of the golden calf, are still abroad in the world..."
— Yaroslav Halan.
In the Maze of Treason.

Above. Military criminals Theodor Oberländer, Yaroslav Stetsko and other anticommunists accompanied by the British Intelligence officer D. Greym walking to the residence of the Prime Minister of Great Britain to hand in another memorandum, 1968.
Opposite. Information Bureau of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (UHVR),



За Українську Самостійну Соборну Державу!

БЮРО ІНФОРМАЦІЇ УКРАЇНСЬКОЇ ГОЛОВНОЇ ВИЗВОЛЬНОЇ РАДИ (УГВР)

ВИПУСК Ч. 9

Травень, 1951 р. В Україні, у підпіллі Рік вид. IV

ВІД БЮРА ІНФОРМАЦІЇ УГВР

Бюро Інформації УГВР в Україні уповноважене поінформувати українське громадянство в Краю і за кордоном, що Український Конгресовий Комітет у США передав через Закордонне Представництво УГВР для УГВР в Україні в порядку допомоги для УПА 7 314 америк. доларів.

За отриману допомогу УГВР в Україні цим шляхом пересилає щиру подяку. В цій допомозі УГВР бачить вияв повної солідарности Українського Конгресового Комітету та українців-громадян США з визвольною повстанською і підпільною боротьбою українського народу на Українських Землях, що проходять під керівництвом УГВР. УГВР радо, що справа визволення України з-під панування московсько-большевицьких окупантів так само дорога для американських українців, як і для українського народу в Україні.

Отримана допомога буде повністю обернута на потреби визвольно-революційної боротьби.

БЮРО ІНФОРМАЦІЇ
УКРАЇНСЬКОЇ ГОЛОВНОЇ ВИЗВОЛЬНОЇ РАДИ

30 травня 1951 р.

pretending to be operating
"underground" in the Ukraine's
territory, announced
in May 1951:
"The Ukrainian Congress
Committee
in the USA transferred
7,314 dollars to the UHVR
in Ukraine through the UHVR
Foreign Branch."

international crooks; their pockets were crammed with fake passports, and they made their home wherever the teeth of the fascist dragon had been sown and wherever they could serve their Berlin rulers.

YEVHEN KONOVALETS AND HIS CREATION

This "blond man with watery gray eyes" was known to the intelligence agencies the world over as one of the most active spies of Germany and Japan back in the 1930s. Konovalets made friends with Hitler in 1922, and since then Adolf Schicklgruber had one of his most loyal tools in the person of this Galician swindler. With the blessing of the *Führer* and his associates in the German Intelligence, Konovalets established a far-flung international organization of spies and saboteurs, giving it the high-sounding name of Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN).

Konovalets got down to work seriously. His agents appeared wherever Ukrainians lived: in the USSR, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Canada, USA, South America. These were highly skilled spies and saboteurs trained at a school the nazis organized specially for the OUN members in Danzig. Shortly after their ranks swelled with even more skilled graduates from a training center Hitler had organized at Mecklenburger Strasse 75 in Berlin. The instructors at both schools were *Abwehr* officers and the training programs embraced the latest methods in stealing military secrets, handling explosives, sabotage at industrial plants and murder on the sly.

In 1938 Konovalets' shares on the international spying market stood at an all-time high, much higher than Colonel Nicolai wished them to be. This sealed the fate of the inordinately conceited agent. At an OUN congress in Rotterdam, Konovalets received a little parcel. This time the self-conceited terrorist gang leader neglected the most elementary rules of precaution — and undid the parcel. A bomb planted in it blasted him to smithereens.

In this manner Nicolai killed two birds with one stone: he removed an undesired agent and fabricated for the OUN a

"martyr" who supposedly died at the hands of "GPU agents." Those who lived in Western Ukraine at that time remember the tridents bound with crape on the chests of the OUN thugs. These people were devoid of not only honor and conscience, but of the most primitive sense of humor as well.

"ORGANIZER OF TERROR"

A better edged and more obedient tool in the hands of Nicolai and the Gestapo was the above-mentioned Omelian Senik-Hribivsky, who was notorious as the most brutal killer and a dexterous saboteur.

Senik popped up in the US in 1931. Berlin did not spare any funds, and beyond the Atlantic all sorts of "Ukrainian Red Crosses," "insurance associations," "sports clubs," "chemical companies" mushroomed, and even a "film company." At the head of these companies stood Senik's henchmen — OUN members and sympathizers. For them Senik wrote a special manual dealing with various methods of spying.

Senik was comfortably at home in the US as he had been in Berlin. He set up a network of arsenals throughout the country; he even organized units of snipers in Pittsburgh, Chicago, Detroit and other cities, and they went through military training at special ODVU camps. Finally, he founded a Ukrainian Aviation School in Montgomery, which trained saboteurs more so than pilots. After going through such "aviation" courses, the ODVU members could seek employment as specialists at aircraft factories and engage in sabotage there on orders from Berlin. Incidentally, one of the patrons of the school, Dmitro Hula, was executed by a firing squad at Sing-Sing Prison.

In January 1935 Senik reported to his Berlin bosses that he had organized over one hundred ODVU branches in the US, and that every industrial center had nationalist agents ready to engage in sabotage on the first order from Berlin.

The sweep of Senik's operation is evinced by the fact that he managed to set up an entire network of photo and movie firms. The readers of Ukrainian newspapers published in the US must remember what fuss the nationalists raised around

the Avramenko Movie Co. headed by a member of the Pittsburgh ODVU branch, the dancer Vasil Avramenko and his partner Kalina Lisyuk. This orchestrated clamor was just a tactical maneuver to camouflage the true purpose of the "movie company" which was no more than a photo laboratory for filming US military installations. It filmed factories in Pittsburgh, Scranton, Allentown and Bethlehem, industrial districts of Detroit, the bridge linking Detroit with Windsor in Canada, workers' settlements in New Jersey, aircraft plants in California, and the US-Mexican border. Through the hands of the many-sided Senik, all the films traveled in good time to the Mecca of the Ukrainian nationalists — Berlin.

Shortly before departing for Germany, Senik visited a house where he had to pick up some secret mail for delivery to Berlin. The house was at 83rd Grand Street in Jersey, the headquarters of the Ukrainian National Association and its official press organ, the newspaper *Svoboda.*

Opposite. Son of an SS man, member of the Banderite Union of Ukrainian Youth, a false British tourist Andriy Klimchuk was caught red-handed in the USSR.
This is what he said at a press conference in Lviv
"I accuse the OUN of involving me in anti-Soviet activities which led to my arrest.
The OUN members used me as a tool. I fully admit my guilt. I am ashamed to face my countrymen because of the crime I have committed against the Soviet state."

EASTER EGGS AND BOMBS

The pride of this newspaper was its editor Luka Mishuha. Only recently a modest staff member of *Svoboda,* Mishuha suddenly made his way up in 1933 and became the paper's editor. In this promotion, the Gestapo and — of all things! — Easter eggs stood him in good stead.

Shortly before the congress of the "association" which had to elect a new editor for its press organ, Mishuha went to Washington and presented a basket with Ukrainian Easter eggs to Ike Hoover, the porter of the White House. This was enough for Mishuha to set afloat rumors that he had been received by "Hoover himself" (Herbert Hoover was then US President). On hearing that Mishuha had been accorded such an "honor," the congress elected him editor of *Svoboda.* From that day on *Svoboda* became the propaganda mouthpiece of the Axis powers, and Mishuha an employe of Goebbels and one of the main agents of Nicolai. The offices of his newspaper became a channel through which directives for agents were sent from Berlin, Rome and Tokyo, and the premises turned into a headquarters for the fascist liaison agents.

Not long before World War II, Mishuha visited Europe on several occasions. In October 1938 he sent his agents in the US a letter, informing them that he had dispatched two lengthy telegrams to Ribbentrop and Ciano.

From Paris he left for Vienna to be closer to the place of the "power," as he put it in the letter.

In Vienna, Mishuha was met by the official representatives of that "power," and Goebbels even proposed he appear on radio, which Mishuha did obligingly, bestowing zealous compliments on Hitler.

In 1939 when Europe was already being raked by the fires of war, Mishuha received an instruction from Berlin: "Be more careful!" Now he kept in touch with the "power" not directly but through a nazi agent in Rome, Yevhen Onatsky, a staff worker of the Lviv newspaper *Dilo.* On October 10, 1939 Onatsky sent Mishuha a letter, in which he gave him new instructions, adding that they had been sent to him directly by the propaganda department of a German ministry.

The occupation of Poland by the nazis made the appetites of Mishuha and Co. the keener. To subjugate the Polish people completely and prepare the onslaught on the Soviet Union, the nazis needed such spies, hangmen and terrorists as had been trained by Konovalets, Senik and Mishuha. The nationalist scum immediately rushed to Europe. "General" Kurmanovich, eventually the commander of the SS Division Halichina, also left the US. The Roman Gestapo agent Onatsky informed Mishuha shortly after that Kurmanovich had become head of Grodno District.

Further on, Onatsky unfolded bright prospects for Mishuha and his friends: all Ukrainian nationalists could acquire administrative positions now without the least effort, because the Germans did not trust the Poles, while the Poles themselves did not aspire to such positions.

Neither did Mishuha aspire to such a position, although for other, less principled reasons than the Poles. The interests of nazi Germany demanded that he stay in the US.

As the US gained in its defensive might, Berlin's demands on Mishuha grew as well. Propaganda alone was no longer enough for Berlin. More concrete things and actions were demanded from Mishuha. The editor of *Svoboda* proved to be a disciplined mercenary. On February 1 and 3, 1941, a couple of months before the attack of Japan on Pearl Harbor, Mishuha published on the pages of his paper detailed instructions on making bombs and explosives for acts of sabotage.

DIFFERENT TIMES, DIFFERENT TUNES

As it seemed, the fatal outcome of the war for the Axis powers should have made the mob from the Konovalets-Senik-Mishuha school lie low. But no sooner had the guns died down than the Mishuhas crawled out of their dens again, and with the hands of Bandera continued the job started by Konovalets and Senik-Hribivsky who had been punished by a just bullet by then. The truth is, the master of this international gang of spies and saboteurs was put out of action, but he was replaced by other masters — the ones who drown Greece

in blood today, the ones who resort to Himmler's methods in our days on the picturesque islands of Indonesia. The professional murderers came in handy for the organizers of mass murder, and they will be useful for them wherever the interests of the capitalist cliques demand that the nations' aspirations for freedom be drowned in blood.

But now we live not in the 1930s, nor in the early 1940s. The defeat of the Axis powers, who were unsurpassed masters of total terror and total subversion, has changed the political pattern of the world in a radical way, and there are fewer, much fewer countries left which would be willing to become victims of international crooks big and small.

At the same time the power of the democratic countries has grown considerably, and this power — both moral and physical — enables them to eradicate decisively and completely all the pathetic attempts of the mercenary fifth columns in resurrecting the past.

[1947]

OLD SPIES ON A NEW JOB

Wolodymyr Kubijowytsch is a spy with a distinguished service record. Ten years before Hitler's march on Warsaw, the name of this "geographer" was the pride of the files resting in the secret safes of the German intelligence. For Kubijowytsch the work conditions were ideal. Employed in the cartographic department of Kraków University, he had every opportunity not only to use the library's material, but also to give lectures throughout the Poland of those days — from Kraków and Katowice all the way to the River Zbruch. Then the results gained by the research of the young espionage agent would make their way to Berlin where they were transformed into maps for the German General Staff.

In 1939, during Hitler's Polish campaign, these maps were

of some importance. The invaders did not forget their agent. Hitler's Governor-General of occupied Poland publicly thanked Kubijowytsch and even let himself be protographed together with him against the background of the Kraków royal palace.

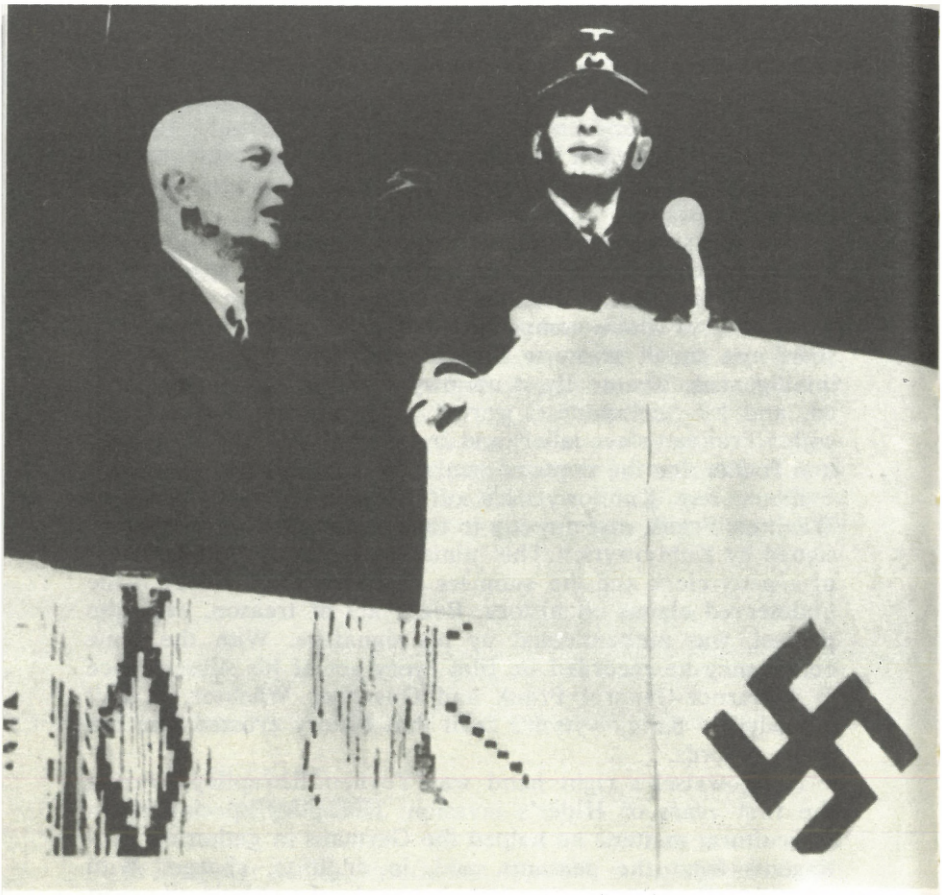
Two years later, on instructions from Frank, Kubijowytsch went to occupied Lviv. Here the former covert spy became an overt spy. He headed the so-called Ukrainian Assistance Committee in whose competence it was to register and keep a strict eye on all Western Ukrainians, and, above all, on the intelligentsia. Eventually, Kubijowytsch's competence expanded, and his "committee" started supplying the Third Reich with Ukrainian slave labor, and from 1943 with recruited cannon fodder for the depleted ranks of Hitler's army.

Every day Kubijowytsch's office belched out reports to Wächter, Frank, and directly to the Gestapo. All of them were signed by Kubijowytsch. This miniature Quisling with the looks of a petty clerk and the manners of a provincial lackey made undeserved claims on history. Every act of treason, even the pettiest, was authenticated by his signature. With the same consistency he recorded on film every act of his subservience to Governor-General Frank and Governor Wächter. It isn't Wolodymyr Kubijowytsch's fault that history crossed him out of its records.

Kubijowytsch's right hand was Yevhen Khraplivy. During the first years of Hitler's invasion, Khraplivy specialized in agricultural matters: he helped the Germans in gathering contingents from the peasants, and, in addition, charged with excessive cynicism as he was, he made them hold "harvest feasts" for the governorship clerks.

After Stalingrad, when Berlin dispatched instructions to organize the SS Division Halichina, this servile rogue immediately changed his trade: the German economic executive began recruiting German mercenaries. He took to his job so seriously that in the end he, too, earned the personal praise of Hans Frank.

The name of Yuri Polyansky became known to the residents of Lviv the day the first announcements of the German burgomaster signed "Polyansky" appeared on the city's walls. He is a scoundrel of a cheaper breed. "Big politics" wasn't



Above. SS *Brigadeführer*,
Governor of Galicia Otto Wächter
is pleased:
the nazi collaborationist
Wolodymyr Kubijowytsch
proclaims
nazi slogans from a nazi tribune.

An den
Führer
des
Großdeutschen
Reiches

Die Gelegenheit Ihres Geburtstages bewegt auch uns, als Vertreter der ukrainischen Volksgemeinschaft im Generalgouvernement, unsere dankbaren Glückwünsche Ihnen, Eure Exzellenz, mit voller Ehrfurcht zu überreichen.

An diesem feierlichen Tage stimmen wir dem begeisterten Jubel des deutschen Volkes bei und knüpfen unsere nationalen Hoffnungen an Ihr Schaffen, welches eine bessere Zukunft sowohl für

das deutsche Volk, als auch
für ganz Europa bringen
wird.
Es lebe der Führer des
Großdeutschen Reiches!

Krakau, den 19. April 1941

Der Leiter des Ukrainischen
Hauptausschusses:

Dr. Wolodymyr Kubijowytsch

Pp. 89,90 and above.
"Wolodymyr Kubijowytsch is a spy with a distinguished service record... Every act of his treason...was authenticated by his signature."
— Yaroslav Halan.
Old Spies on a New Job.

his domain, and he was content with occupying the post of a rank and file agent of the Gestapo. He devoted particular energy to machinations involving the looted property of the Jews. Polyansky was at his best in the field of bribery, particularly during the distribution of the Jewish stores among the Aryan speculators.

Polyansky played a disgusting part during the extermination of the Lviv residents. It was he who made up the lists of the doomed, he helped the Sonderkommandos carry out roundups, and he was one of the organizers of the bloodstained German-Ukrainian police.

Yuri Pavlikovsky was a man of the same calibre. In the stifling atmosphere of the nazi occupation this gray-haired knight of commerce was in his element. An inveterate collaborationist, he placed all his fervor at the service of Wächters and Bauers. His speciality was to extort agricultural produce from the population for Hitler's army. For his devoted services to the Third Reich he earned the honor of offering Hans Frank humble thanks side by side with Kubijowytsch.

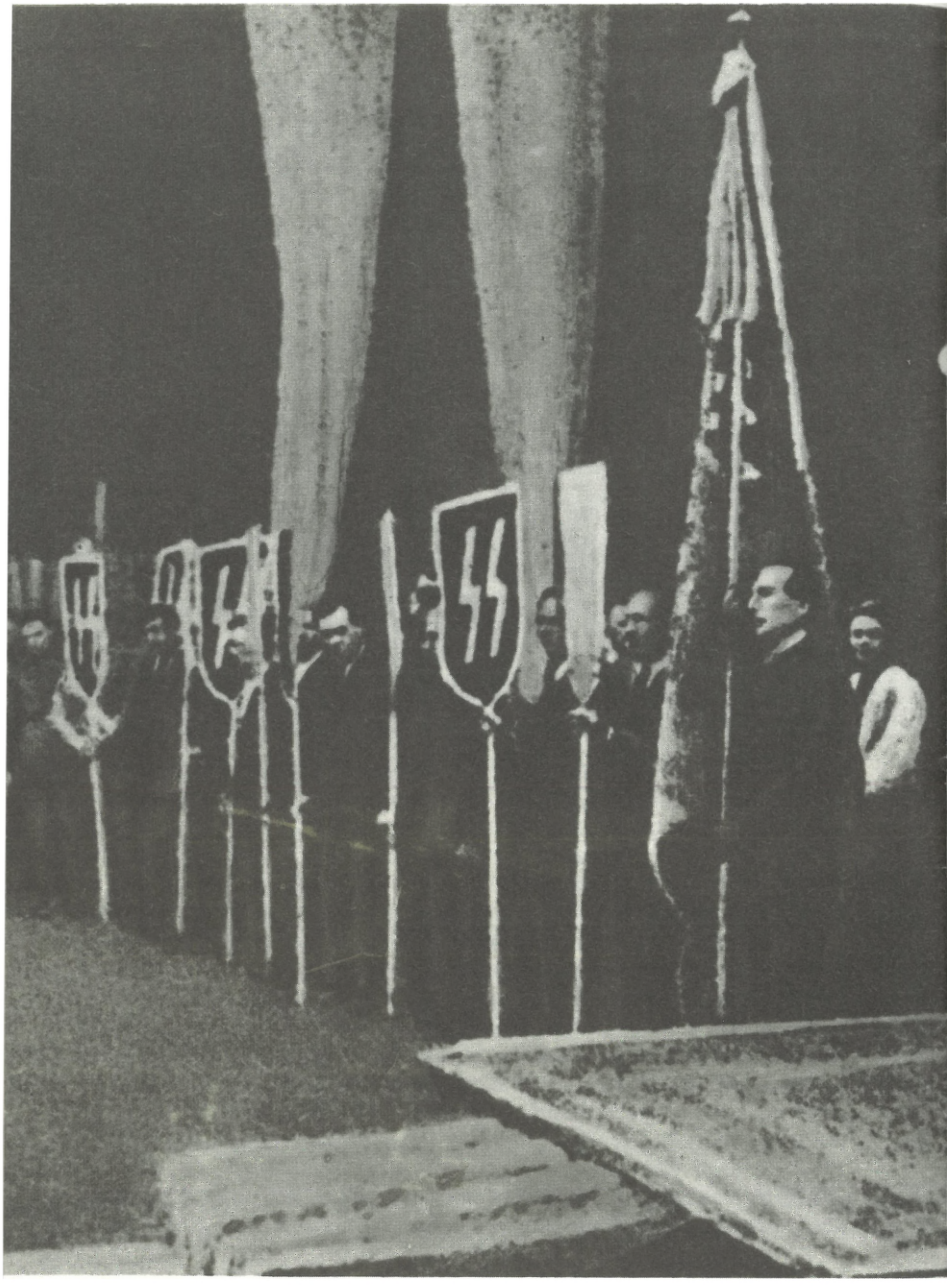
Vasil Laba concealed a lackey's livery under the cassock of a Uniate cleric, nonetheless his true color shined through. A ten-year record of service as a Gestapo agent opened the doors for him to the office of Governor Wächter. It was Laba who was the main liaison between St. George's Hill and the occupation authorities, and, further, he kept the Gestapo informed on what was being said, done and written in the dusky chambers of the Count and Metropolitan Andriy Sheptitsky.

At last the long-awaited day of commendation came: Hitler appointed Vasil Laba as *Feldkurat* (chaplain) of the SS Division. Now the cross on Laba's chest was brought to terms with the SS thunderbolts on his tabs. From the murky light of the Gestapo reception rooms and the St. George's offices, Vasil Laba emerged into the daylight: he recruits mercenaries, he gives the blessings, he appeals from the rostrum thickly posted with swastikas and thunderbolts. A priest of servility and treason, he passionately proclaims with eyes raised to the heavens: "*Führer*," "Great Germany," "New Eupore."

...In May of 1945 all the above-mentioned personalities found themselves in the last hiding-place of the surviving SS men — in Munich under American occupation; for some time

Above. "Hitler appointed Vasil Laba as *Feldkurat* (chaplain) of an SS division. Now the cross on Laba's chest was brought to terms with the SS thunderbolts on his tabs... A priest of servility and treason, he passionately proclaims with eyes raised to the heavens: 'Führer,' 'Great Germany,' 'New Europe.'" — Yaroslav Halan. *Old Spies on a New Job.*

Overleaf. Photograph in the nationalist profascist calender with the caption: "Chaplain of the SS Infantry Division Halichina Dr. V. Laba preaching in the field, July 18, 1943."



The butcher of Galicia, Governor-General Otto Wächter and his Ukrainian nationalist lackey Wolodymyr Kubijowytsch with a hand loyally shot up in the fascist salute.

the unemployed Gestapo agents sat as silent as mice under a broom, waiting for the favorable juncture. They didn't wait long. The Americans' demand for experienced spies and provocateurs was so big, that the names of Kubijowytsch & Co. could not remain unnoticed, the more so since the Galician Gestapo men literally camped on the doorsteps of the offices of the 3rd American Army intelligence division.

Recently Kubijowytsch organized in Munich an "action group" and, later on, a "general meeting" to discuss, of all things, the revival of the T. H. Shevchenko Scientific Society. The participants in the "group" and "meeting" included all the aforementioned followers of Volodymyr Kubijowytsch.

Well, history seems to repeat itself, but this time it's in the form of a farce. Spy nests built under the smoke screen of scientific establishments aren't a new invention; as it should have been expected, Kubijowytsch borrowed it from his Gestapo teachers. And there's no doubt that the first thing the "society" will do is set up a department of cartography. But the point is that in our time the competence and opportunities available to the "society" and its organizers will be so limited, so insignificant, it hardly justifies Truman's espionage bosses spending dollars on the Kubijowytsch trash. 1947 bears no semblance to 1939 and 1941. The bitter experience of Hitler's Germany must have taught her contemporary American followers a lesson.

As it turned out, the lesson didn't sink in. So much the worse for Truman's guardians of this trash.

[1947]

WHAT THE UNIATE CHURCH IS ALL ABOUT

THE FIRST STEPS

The struggle of the Ukrainian people against Catholicism was a struggle for their elementary rights to life, bread and freedom.

It started back in the early 15th century, when the destiny of Western Rus (Ruthenia) and, consequently, of the land of the former Galician-Volhynian Principality fell into the hands of the Polish King Wladysław Jagiełło. While still the Grand Duke of Lithuania, he not only renounced the faith of his forefathers for his amibitious ends, but also denied his homeland independence by joining Poland as a "younger brother."

When this renegade ascended the Polish throne and embraced the Catholic faith, trying times set in for subjugated Ruthenia. Jagiełło abolished the ancient Orthodox Episcopal See in Galicia, and converted the Orthodox Cathedral at Peremyshl into a Catholic church, his satraps going so far as to throw out the remains of the Ukrainians buried in the cathedral.

His homeland, Lithuania, did not fare any better. In one of his deeds, he wrote: "I have pledged myself and taken an oath to call upon, win over, even to force to obedience to the Roman Catholic Church all Lithuanians of both sexes and every rank regardless to what faith they had hitherto belonged."

When two high Orthodox Lithuanian officials refused to renounce their faith, Jagiełło had them subjected to torture and death. By the new treaty between Lithuania and Poland, signed at Horodło in 1413, the Orthodox were denied the right to hold any state offices.

But this was only the beginning of the thorny path of the Ruthenian, Byelorussian and Lithuanian Orthodox, a path they had to walk throughout several centuries of the rule of the Polish Crown in our lands.

IN THE NAME OF JESUS

Right from the outset of its existence the Catholic Church, unlike the Orthodox Church, was a militant body combining both church and state functions under a Roman Pope who exercised unlimited power and with fire and sword tried to gradually subject all the nations of the world.

The history of the Catholic Church abounds in gory aggressive campaigns, violence, and plunder. The Pope and his prelates did not balk at anything to consolidate their power and enlarge their fortunes. They eagerly allied themselves with aggressive

states and helped them in conquering and enslaving neighboring non-Catholic countries, retaining the right to jointly pillage the enslaved nations.

The Pope and his prelates organized all sorts of adventurers into specially armed orders. One of them — the Teutonic Order — spilled a sea of human blood. It destroyed to the last man a once numerous people, the Prussians, and harrassed our brothers, the Lithuanians, with constant invasions for centuries on end. The Ukrainians, too, as well as the Russians, Byelorussians and Poles, had to wage a sustained struggle against the Teutonic Knights. Incidentally, the order begot the modern imperialistic Germany, a state that has made rivers of human blood and tears flow in our country and throughout the whole of Europe.

At the time the Teutonic Knights forced entire nations to accept Catholicism under pain of death and thereby pledge loyalty to Rome, the Pope, his cardinals and bishops indulged in drinking and profligacy. For this they had enough money which streamed to Rome from all corners of Europe. Papal emissaries traveled from country to country, collecting taxes for the "vicar of Jesus Christ on earth," and anyone who dared not pay them was in for black woe. Besides, in the towns and villages, monks and priests sold for big money indulgences by which the buyers were remitted of all sins and guaranteed entry into Heavenly Kingdom. They also offered feathers from the wings of Archangel Gabriel and rungs from the ladder Joseph was supposed to have climbed to heaven in his dream; the pieces of wood from the "Cross of Jesus" they sold would have been enough to build several towns.

The Catholic Church stopped at nothing to strengthen its rule and influence. It subjected to shuddering terror everyone who went against the Pope and the Catholic dogmas. To fight the unruly, the Pope instituted the Holy Inquisition, a sort of a Papal Gestapo. Throughout its existence this revolting tribunal killed thousands of people, making them go through bloodcurdling tortures before death.

Who does not know about the Massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day on August 25, 1572, when Papal cutthroats murdered several thousand Protestants in Paris only because they refused to recognize the supremancy of the Pope! When the news of the butchery reached Rome, a festive fireworks was organized on

the joyous occasion "to the glory of the Roman Catholic Church."

Quite a few scholars fell victim to the cruel Inquisition. The Catholic obscurantists persecuted with particular cruelty anyone who researched into the phenomena of nature. The Italian mathematician and astronomer of genius Galileo paid with imprisonment and torture for his teaching on the solar system.

Taras Shevchenko devoted his poem *Jan Hus* to the tragic fate of the great Czech patriot and a foremost man of his time who was burned at the stake by Papal henchmen.

To terrorize the people subject to Rome, the Catholic Church set up trials of "witches" and of "Satan's children." When the defendant, notwithstanding the horrible tortures he had lived through, refused to plead guilty of "being in league with the devil," he was thrown into deep water. If he drowned, he was acquitted, but if he reached the shore alive, he was burned at the stake by the simple reasoning that the devil alone could have saved him from drowning. In this way, about 40,000 women were tortured to death within several years in France alone.

But the cruelest unit of militant Catholicism was the Society of Jesus founded by the Spaniard Ignatius of Loyola in 1534 and approved by the Pope in 1540. Its main slogan was "The end justifies the means," which implied that all means were good as long as they enforced the rule of the Catholic Church and increased the wealth of its officiants.

Twenty-nine years after the institution of the black order, the first Jesuits began arriving in Poland on the summons of the Polish King so as to launch a crusade against the Orthodox believers.

From that time on our people were to live through calamitous times which begot the union of the churches.

SCHEMES AND REALITY

Somebody might think: why did the Jesuits have to come from distant Spain and Italy to Ukraine and Lithuania and work for the interests of the Polish magnates? Every why must have a wherefore.

Well, that was just the point, because in this case the interests

of Papal Rome and nobility-ruled Warsaw coincided. By tearing the peoples of Ruthenia and Lithuania away from Orthodoxy and fully converting them to the Catholic faith, Warsaw wanted to tear them away from Muscovy, the mightiest center of support and protection of Orthodoxy and the Orthodox nations, for in this way alone could Warsaw count on enslaving the Ukrainians, Byelorussians and Lithuanians forever.

In Catholicizing these nations, Papal Rome would not only create sources for new profits and strengthen its political positions, but also get the opportunity to effect its long cherished dream of launching a crusade against the then mighty Ottoman Empire and obtaining its countless treasures.

The first time the Jesuits conceived the idea of bringing the Orthodox under the sceptre of the Pope was during the rule of the Polish King Sigismund III who was a notorious Catholic fanatic. True, there were also earlier attempts to join the Orthodox to the Catholic Church. But they all failed. In the 16th century many of the European nations rebelled against the Pope, which resulted in the Reformation, a religious movement that was hostile to the Pope and his church. In a short time the movement spread over Germany, France, and Switzerland. One nation after another rejected the Catholic faith in spite of the wild terror of the Jesuits.

The Jesuits attempted to join the churches in Moscow as well. For a long time the Papal envoy, Jesuit Antonio Possevino, had been persuading Ivan the Terrible to join the Orthodox Church with Rome, reminding him of the idea of union of the churches advanced at the Council of Florence. The Czar replied to the Jesuit:

"We know about that union and about the unjust council which both the Greeks and our ancestors rejected. And even if there had once been some Greeks who accepted the union, we believe in Christ and the Gospels but not those Greeks. We also know that there had been Popes in Rome — Orthodox bishops, pious and even saintly; those we respect. But with time the Popes with their Roman Church fell away from the single Orthodox ecumenical church, started to turn up their noses and being willful, introducing various new teachings disagreeable with the Orthodox faith. These Popes we do not recognize as the true successors of St. Peter and do not subject to their rule."

Possevino had no choice but to return empty-handed. At a conference of Jesuits meeting in Wilno, he declared: "There is no use even thinking of a union in Eastern Europe and Muscovy now. The Czar and people there are of one faith. This union is more dependable in Ruthenia which is subject to the Polish King who himself belongs to the Roman Catholic Church. That is why his rule can be used for this purpose; but we still have to influence the Ruthenian princes and priests to make them join the Union."

THE PEOPLE CRUCIFIED

The Orthodox population of Ruthenia that had been seized by the Polish King knew what danger confronted it. They realized that the Union was intended first to Latinize and them Polonize them completely.

The protection of the Orthdox faith and the Rus national identity was taken up by what were called brotherhoods, organizations of Orthodox members of the lower middle class in our towns in the 16th century.

The Brotherhood of Lviv rendered particularly great services to the Ukrainian people in the struggle for their right to life. Galicia had suffered under Polish rule much earlier than other Ukrainian lands, and the oppression here was much more cruel than anywhere else in Ukraine. The Galician Orthodox Episcopal See was abolished back in the first half of the 15th century. The Orthodox clergy was supervised by Polish officials. Orthodox priests were appointed by the Lviv magistrate composed exclusively of German Catholics who proved to be the most rabid enemies of Orthodoxy and its adherents.

They prohibited the Orthodox priests from visiting sick believers with gifts and from wearing church vestments while burying the deceased to the ringing of bells.

The Orthodox were denied the right to give evidence in court, to engage in crafts and commerce, and were made to live in a ghetto in Lviv, with strict prohibition to take up residence in any other part of the city.

For all these prohibitions, the Lviv Ruthenians did not give up. The Stauropygia Brotherhood of Lviv courageously opposed

the attempts of the magistrate to Catholicize the Orthodox population, although the brotherhood members suffered all sorts of humiliation.

At last, after paying substantial bribes to the King and his courtiers, the Brotherhood of Lviv managed to have the Lviv Orthodox Eparchy restored, and in 1539 Archimandrite Macarius Tuchapsky was consecrated Bishop of Lviv.

By that time new clouds started to gather over the Orthodox believers.

HOW THE UNION WAS PREPARED

In 1569 the Polish nobility decided to abolish even the few freedoms the people they had enslaved still enjoyed. The King summoned an assembly at Lublin, attended by representatives of the Polish, Lithuanian and Ruthenian lands. The Polish nobility who had an overwhelming majority at the assembly, proposed a political union, that is, complete incorporation of Lithuania, Byelorussua and Ruthenia into Poland.

The representatives of the Orthodox peoples disagreed emphatically, and soon a considerable part of them left Lublin. But the Polish nobility with the King at their head decided to go ahead whatever may be. On seeing that the last representatives of the eastern lands were leaving for home, they committed a barefaced fraud by using their votes in adding one Ruthenian land after another to the Polish Crown. In this way, first Podlasie was "joined," followed by Volhynia, Podolia, and at last Kiev region.

The political union was thus consummated. Now was the time for a religious union.

It was a protracted and thorough affair. At first the Orthodox population and its clergy were subjected to rigid terror by a long-tested method. It was enough for an Orthodox metropolitan or bishop to complain to the King about an injustice inflicted on their congregations for the Polish nobles to respond with such monstrous insults which the Orthodox Church and its believers had never experienced before. Kirilo Terletsky, the Bishop of Lutsk, for instance, was locked up for several days in his church by soldiers on Easter. On orders from the bailiff, the soldiers

reveled in dancing to music in the porch and fired their muskets into the church after heavy drinking.

At about the same time, royal troops burst into the village Krupne belonging to Prince Kostyantin Ostrogsky, knocked out the door of the local church, ransacked the altar, and trampled the Body of Christ.

These repressions were intended, above all, to intimidate the Orthodox clergy and force at least a part of them to stoop to treachery and accept the union of the churches. Those willing to renounce the faith of their people were promised all sorts of privileges by the King and tricked into believing that after accepting the Union, the King would grant them the right to sit together with the Polish bishops in the Senate of the *Rzeczpospolita* (Polish Commonwealth).

THE FIRST TRAITORS

The first bishop to betray his faith and people was the very same Kirilo Terletsky who was prepared to forget all the insults he had suffered, if only his apostasy would gain him honors and wealth. His associate in the treason was Bishop Adam Ignatius Potiy who came from a family of rich landed gentry. By threats and promises, these servants of the Jesuits and the Polish nobility made other bishops follow their example. In the end, they managed to allure the Metropolitan Mikhailo Ragoza.

All this was done secretly and furtively lest the believers learn of the bishops' treachery. In 1595 the King sent Terletsky and Potiy to Rome where they were received by Pope Clement VIII with magnificently solemn ceremony. The Pope even told them for joy:

"I do not want to rule over you; I want to bear the burden of yours..."

Terletsky and Potiy rejected the Orthodox faith publicly and accepted all the dogmas of the Roman Catholic Church. The shackles, however, they did not receive — the shackles were manufactured in Rome and Kraków not for them but for their people.

The people, however, had not yet said their final word.

THE VOICE OF THE PEOPLE

The first to speak out was Prince Kostyantin Ostrogsky. Once the traitors returned from Rome and the purpose of their mission became clear, he addressed the Orthodox of Lithuania and Ruthenia with the following appeal:

"From my youth I have been brought up by my illustrious and pious parents in the true faith which I, with God's help, profess to this day and hope to profess steadfastly to the end of my life. I have been taught and convinced by God's grace that besides the one true faith adopted in Jerusalem, there is no other true faith. But now, by the maliciously cunning viles of Satan, the most senior heads of our true faith, our supposed shepherds, the Metropolitan and his bishops, enticed by worldly glory and blinded by the darkness of gluttony, have turned into wolves and, renouncing the only true faith and the Holy Eastern Church, they have broken away from our ecumenical shepherds and teachers, and by joining the Western ones and hiding but the spirit of wolves in themselves, the damned have secretly agreed among themselves like the traitor Judas with the Hebrews to tear away the pious Christians from this here region without their knowledge and lead them to destruction... What can be more dishonest and unlawful? Six or seven vile men have colluded like scoundrels, and forsaking their shepherds, their most holy patriarchs by whom they had been appointed, they have dared willfully, by their own judgment, to tear us, all the Orthodox, away from the faith like some speechless creatures and send all of us to destruction. What use can they be to us? Instead of being the light of the world, they have become the darkness and temptation to all..."

The Orthodox clergy also protested against the pernicious scheme of Terletsky and Potiy. In a letter to the Novgorod *voivode* (military governor), the clergy of Wilno wrote:

"We — all the Orthodox clergy of Wilno — have protested before God and all Christians both in our divine writings and in complaints to all secular governments that we had not imagined nor known about such an apostasy by our holiest patriarchs for which we did not give our consent, and we undertake to stand by all the piety of the Holy Eastern Ecumenical Church."

But all these voices of protest fell on deaf ears. The King

and his nobles did not so much as think of giving up the implementation of their schemes. The Union was sealed. The only thing left was to legalize it at a specialy convened assembly.

BREST

The synod was convened by Metropolitan Ragoza on October 6, 1596 at Brześć (Brest). Following the Orthodox appeals for intervention, the two highest ranking patriarchs — from Constantinople and Alexandria — sent their plenipotentiaries, Niceophorus and Cyril respectively, to Brest. On arrival, they decided to gather in a church with the other Orthodox clergy and wait for the Metropolitan's invitation to the synod.

All the churches, however, were closed on Potiy's order. As it proved, the doors in the building where the synod was in session were also closed, because the Uniate leaders had wished to sit in their own close circle which, incidentally, included three Latin bishops, four Jesuits, and three royal commissioners.

The synod sat in session for four days, which at last exhausted the patience of the royal commisioners: Ragoza, Terletsky and Potiy were ordered to wind up the business. It was finished in a Polish Roman Catholic Church where the apostates reaffirmed their loyalty to the Pope and his Church.

The Orthodox responded to this insulting comedy with a declaration signed by the clergy and laymen who had arrived for the synod.

The declaration read:

"By our faith, conscience and honor we solemnly promise in our own behalf and in behalf of our ancestors not to listen to the Metropolitan and bishops who have been condemned by the synodal (Orthodox) sentence, not to submit to them, not to let them rule over us, but on the contrary, whenever possible to oppose their decisions, actions and instructions, and stand firmly by our holy faith and by the truthful shepherds of our Holy Church, especially by our patriarchs, carefully preserving the overall peace guaranteed us by the laws, and resisting all repressions, violence and alterations that have been infringing upon the integrity and freedom of our divine service which we conduct by ancient custom..."

Understandably, these protests did not and could not have changed anything, because the Uniate apostates were backed by the Polish Crown with all its might. The Union was consummated, and the Orthodox believers were virtually outlawed.

THE TERROR

Perhaps the first victim of the Synod of Brest was the Patriarch's envoy Niceophorus whose firmness in defending the Orthodox Church could not be forgiven by the Polish nobility and Jesuits. He was apprehended, hauled into court, and sentenced for being allegedly a Turkish spy.

In spite of the protests of the entire Orthodox world, the misfortunate Niceophorus was transferred to Malbork where he was tortured to death in prison. When the news spread far and wide, the renegade Potiy declared for joy: "Niceophorus has croaked in Malbork!"

The Pope and the King started to convert the Orthodox churches and monasteries into buildings of Uniate worship. In Byelorussia alone, the King's officials closed down 12 Orthodox monasteries within a short period. The monks were chased out, while the property of the monasteries and churches was distributed among the Uniates.

An attempt was also made to seize the Kiev Pechersk Lavra (Gave Monastery) and other monasteries in Kiev. But the Orthodox clergy of Kiev courageously stood up for their churches. They replied to the King's commissioner:

"We know why you have come and what letters you have brought from the King; those letters we do not want to hear about, nor do we want to see them, and we will firmly defend our monastery. The King has nothing to do with us and we do not have to listen to him, because he is violating our rights and freedoms."

Only the Saint Sophia Cathedral was seized by the Uniates, but even that was not for long.

The Orthodox priests had their hair clipped by force, and were beaten and tortured. The traitor Ipatiy Potiy insulted them the most. Chroniclers of those days have left us reports of how Potiy used brutal violence against Priest Martin of St.

Basil's Church in Volodimir-Volinsky. Father Martin refused to stop performing the Orthodox divine service, and so the servants of Potiy burst into his church during matins and hauled him off before their master. The latter hit him across the face, and after ordering that he be brought back to the church, Potiy took away the chalice from him in the presence of the parishioners, ordered him to take off his vestments, and clipped his hair with scissors. Another Uniate Bishop, by then the notorious Kirilo Terletsky, inflicted brutal reprisals upon the staunch Orthodox Priest Stephan from Lutsk. One day, Terletsky's henchmen seized the priest on his way home and threw him under the ice of the frozen Styr River.

All these and similar outrages were committed with total impunity. The Grown Court, as a rule, rejected every complaint of the Orthodox.

IVAN VISHENSKY SPEAKS UP

At that time, Ivan Vishensky, a Galician hermit from Mount Athos, achieved fame in Ukraine. Centuries later, Ivan Franko would write a passionate poem about him.

Although far from his home, Vishensky did not forget his people, grieved for their lot, and wrote fervent appeals to Ukraine, calling upon his people to defend their national identity and faith with boundless devotion against the scheming Polish nobility, Jesuits and Uniate traitors.

In one of his epistles, he wrote:

"Where among the pagans can we see such fruits of impiety as there are now in the Polish lands? Do not grieve: God is with you, have faith and firm hope in Him, but do not have hope in your Ruthenian lords who are but the sons of men; in them there is no salvation, they have forsaken God for a heretical allurement. Be damned the bishops, archimandrites and abbots, who have ransacked the monasteries and turned these holy places into their estates, lead bestial lives there together with their servants and friends, collect money and, though it is intended for Christ's pilgrims, use it to amass dowries for their daughters, to dress their sons, adorn their wives, increase the number of servants,

enrich their friends, and build carriages... Instead of abiding by the rules, books and teachings of God's laws, the godless bishops sit day and night over statutes and engage in lies all their life..."

The messages of the patriot Vishensky reached the farthest corners of the Rus land, everywhere rousing a will to oppose the corrupt ways of the satraps of the King and Pope.

A UNIATE SAINT

The masterminds of the Union had long racked their brains over who of the Uniate personalities could be canonized. The object they set themselves was extremely difficult. Indeed, how could they glorify a renegade who denounced his people and faith and went over to serve foreign gods and foreign lords who were hostile to his own people. Such a "saint" was not worth the candle.

At long last they found him, as should have been expected, among the fiercest enemies of the Ruthenian and, consequently, of the Ukrainian people. The one who proved favorable to the gods was Josaphat Kuntsevich born in 1580 in the town of Volodimir-Volinsky.

When he had been still a Bishop of Wilno, Kuntsevich became notorious for being an undeviatingly loyal servant of the Jesuits and Polish nobility. In 1618 he was appointed Bishop of Polotsk. From that time on the Orthodox believers' curses rained on his head like hail.

Filled with hatred for his own people and trying to be liked by his Roman and Warsaw rulers, Kuntsevich ran amuck. He shackled Orthodox priests, threw them into cellars, closed down their churches or converted them into Uniate temples.

This is what a contemporary wrote about his doings:

"The whole thing is horrible, incredible, barbarous, cruel: last year, in the very same town of Polotsk, the very same apostate bishop, in his desire to torment the citizens the more, deliberately ordered the exhumation of Orthodox deceased buried within the precincts of the church and had them thrown to the dogs like some carrion."

Kuntsevich was not satisfied with the churches being closed down: in severest terms he prohibited the Orthodox clergy

to conduct divine service even in makeshift churches outside the town, and those who did not comply with his orders and prohibitions he punished cruelly.

The Byelorussians, understandably, hated this Uniate evildoer. Back in 1618 when Kuntsevich decided to make the town of Mogilev "happy" by visiting it, its people greeted the demented apostate with shouts and curses, advising him that he make himself scarce while he still had the time to do so. Kuntsevich never reached the town and was forced to beat a hasty retreat.

He took cruel revenge on the Mogilev inhabitants. In response to a complaint on him sent to the King, Kuntsevich dealt out numerous death sentences, and more than one Byelorussian head rolled then under the blow of the executioner's ax. Kuntsevich's thirst for blood seemed to have been satisfied.

The furious zeal of the servile Uniate annoyed some Polish magnates who feared that his atrocities against the Orthodox might raise such a wave of popular wrath that it would sweep over the entire Polish realm.

Chancellor Lew Sapieha frequently wrote to Kuntsevich, warning him about the consequences of his policy. In one of his letters to the Uniate Metropolitan Rutsky, Lew Sapieha gives the following description of the future Uniate "saint":

"Not me alone, but others, too, have severely condemned the Bishop of Polotsk for attending to matters of faith all too brutally and thus becoming abominably annoying and disgusting to the people both in Polotsk and everywhere else. I have warned him long since, asked and entreated him not to act so viciously, but he, by considerations of his own, which are obstinate rather than judicious, refused to heed my advice. God help us lest the consequences of his ferocious actions bring harm to the *Rzeczpospolita.* I ask your worship to hold him in check..."

Kuntsevich tried to justify his doings before the chancellor. Sapieha's response of March 12, 1622 to Kuntsevich's letter is filled with infinite contempt for the lackey in bishop's vestments:

"I would not want to enter into useless correspondence and controversy with your Grace, but on seeing with what

stubbornness you uphold your ideas in disregard to every persuasion, I am forced to respond to your imprudent letter against my will. I must admit that I, too, have been involved in the Union, but it has never entered my mind that you would be promoting it by such forcible means. Do you not know that people are indignant and that they expressed their desire to better accept Turkish servitude than suffer such repression of their faith and piety! Guided not so much by love of your fellow man, but by vanity and selfish ends, you have abused power and by your actions... kindled the dangerous sparks that threaten all of us with disaster and destructive fire. If, God forbid, our country will be plunged into turmoil (the path to which you are paving by your severity), what will happen to your Union then?..."

The ambitious lackey, however, did not mend his ways. In late October 1623 Kuntsevich ordered his servants to seize an Orthodox Priest, Ilya, of Vitebsk and haul him off to prison. That was the last straw that broke the back of the Byelorussians' patience. People of Vitebsk burst into Kuntsevich's home, killed the butcher, and after tying a stone to his neck, threw his corpse into the Dvina River.

The townspeople paid dearly for this just punishment of the Uniate prelate.

On learning about the death of his bishop, Pope Urban called upon the Polish King to wreak bloody revenge on the Orthodox. He wrote to the King:

"Let he be damned who holds back the sword from Orthodox blood..."

The King eagerly complied with the Pope's wish. Nineteen Vitebsk inhabitants were punished by death, and one hundred who had fled were sentenced to death in absentia and their property confiscated. Vitebsk was deprived of every right, the town hall was ruined, and the Orthodox believers were outlawed.

The Jesuits and their Uniate hangers-on tried to rehabilitate Josaphat Kuntsevich by all means. They broadcast instances of "miracles" which were supposed to have happened after his death, but could not come up with anything better than the "wonder" about a Polish noblewoman from Uszacz, whose horse had dropped dead on its way and she revived it by

praying to — of all people! — Kuntsevich. All these efforts, however, were in vain. In the memories of the Byelorussians and Ruthenians, Kuntsevich remained the fiercest butcher of his people.

And still, Pope Pius IX, on the request of the Polish nobility, canonized him for his "apostolic efforts for the benefit of the Union..."

THE PEOPLE'S PATH OF MARTYRDOM

The situation of the Orthodox believers in the Polish Commonwealth is more than convincingly shown in a petition the representatives of the Orthodox populace addressed to the Polish Sejm (Parliament):

"Since 1596, right after the Brest Synod * which removed all apostate bishops who accepted the Union from their offices, we have been deprived of our bishoprics and estates, and for all our petitions throughout many years and the repeated decisions of the Sejms and the King's promises to return our property, it still remains with the Uniates... This was followed by unbearable repressions against our conscience, and by violations of our rights. Quite a few monasteries and churches have been taken away from us, some of them remain sealed to this day, and we are prohibited from praying to God even in huts. Those of us who had served in the town hall were chased out of it and deprived of the right to trade, while in the towns of the Crown we are prohibited even from possessing a house."

"In Kiev the Saint Sophia Cathedral and other churches have been ransacked just like the Vidubetsky Monastery which is in the possession of the Uniates," the petition reads on. "In Lutsk the churches have been converted into taverns. In Chełm, Lviv and other places it is forbidden to go around openly with sacred objects during visits to the sick and to accompany the remains of deceased Christians to the graves. In Wilno the churches have been converted into taverns, kitchens, and

* In this case, reference to the Orthodox synod which was held simultaneously with the Uniate assembly.

hospices; the Orthodox have been expelled from the magistrate and guilds, people with no guilt have been put into irons and thrown into the dungeons of the town hall; if anybody bequeathes anything to the church, it is forbidden to be accepted, by royal decree it is forbidden to build stone churches on the lands of the Polish nobles, by orders of the royal courts and other writs guiltless people were subjected to all sorts of harrassment and suffered from repressions and injustice through various means.

"In Minsk the church square was allotted for the construction of a Tatar mosque. In Polotsk people were forced into the Union on pain of being shackled and others were driven out of the town. In Turov the churches and their property were taken away by force and the Orthodox Bishop expelled from the town. In Pinsk the non-Uniate priests were put in barrels and tortured. In Orsha, Mogilev, Mstislav and other towns the churches were sealed and it has been forbidden to pray to God even in huts. In Kovno the local church was plundered and its lands taken away. The monasteries at Trok, Lavrin, Grodno and elsewhere have been devastated appalingly. In Belsk the following decree is in effect: anyone of the townspeople who does not follow the procession from the church to the Roman Catholic church shall be punished by death. In Miatsel Greek Orthodox believers were forcibly made to join the Union by the local bailiff and sentenced to banishment from the town like some Arians..."

In addition to these instances of horror, we would like to recall yet another event that occurred in Lutsk in 1634. When a procession of Roman Catholics passed by the Monastery of the Exaltation of the Cross belonging to the local Orthodox brotherhood, an armed crowd, led by a dozen Jesuits, burst into the church, broke and trampled everything that was there, and then fell on the monastery, beating and maiming teenage pupils, monks, and the old feeble people from the monastery's asylum.

The Catholic rowdies smashed the trunks with money and valuables and carried it all away.

The pogrom the Jesuits incited shortly after spread through the streets of the town. The Catholics and Uniates beat up with sticks every Ruthenian they came across, and by the

blessing of *Ksiądz* * Laśki killed the Lutsk inhabitant Ivan Lozinski right under the windows of his home.

The complaints which the persecuted Orthodox filed with the royal courts not only remained unanswered, but rather worsened their situation, and frequently those who signed such complaints were virtually signing their own death sentences.

The tragic death of the loyal son of the Orthodox Church Afanasiy Filipovich, vicar of the monastery at Kupyatitsa, stands as a vivid example of the arbitrary sway of the Polish nobles and Jesuits.

After the Uniate Archimandrite and his servants beat up and robbed the monks of the monastery, Filipovich went to Kraków with a complaint.

But no sooner did he come back home from Kraków than he was arrested and taken to Warsaw where he languished in prison for over a year. After he was freed, Filipovich repaired to Brest, but here he was again arrested, thrown into a dungeon, and tortured by fire to make him accept the Union.

Filipovich's loyalty to his faith and people was much stronger than his desire to live. He met a martyr's death but did not betray his country.

Before he died, Filipovich declared:

"Of course, those who have renounced the holy faith, arrogant as they are in their unreasonable wisdom, will continue persecuting the professors of the divine truth for a long time yet, but a time will come when in Brest and throughout the whole of our land the Orthodox faith will flourish, and its glory will not fade, and the stratagem of the apostates will prove in vain."

His were prophetic words.

THE TIME HAS COME

One of the most outstanding defenders of Orthodoxy was Petro Mohila, an Archimandrite at the Kiev Cave Monastery, who was appointed Metropolitan later. After he had become a patron of the Kiev Brotherhood, Mohila founded under its

* *Ksiądz* — Priest (Pol.)

auspices a school of higher learning which was then called the Mohila Academy in his honor. As the first academy in Ukraine, it not only gave education to young people, but also produced the best fighters for the freedom of the enslaved people in those days.

Many a time did the Polish nobles and Jesuits want to bring the Kiev Brotherhood and its school under their heel. But hard as they tried they failed, because the brotherhood had a patron who was to play a decisive role in the Ukrainian people's struggle against foreign oppression.

This patron was the Zaporozhian Sich.

Back in the early 17th century when the King's commissioners tried to seize the Kiev Cave Monastery for the Uniates, the formidable say of the Cossacks made it possible for the Kievans to retain their sanctuary of faith.

When the Uniates wanted to force the Kievan Orthodox clergy to hold prayers in honor of the Pope and threatened them with punishment if they refused, the Kievans turned to the Cossacks of the Zaporozhian Sich.

At that time the Hetman of the Sich was the ardent defender of Orthodoxy Petro Konashevich-Sahaidachny. On learning about the outrageous demand of Potiy's associate, Sahaidachny sent the following message to the Kiev military governor on behalf of the entire Zaporozhian Host:

"We will not permit that this unfrocked priest and outlaw employ violence against our clergy in Kiev, and we shall defend them in every way; we all stand for our Church; we are prepared to lay down our lives for our Eastern Orthodox faith; and we declare so before God and before your worship, sir. As to that outlaw, we have vowed to kill him like a cur wherever we come across him."

In 1620 Patriarch Theophan of Constantinople arrived in Kiev on his way to Moscow. Hetman Sahaidachny sent a troop of Cossacks to meet him and accompany him right to the capital lest he be harrassed by the henchmen of the Polish nobles.

The house where Theophan stayed during his sojourn in Kiev was guarded by the Cossacks round the clock, as a chronicle of those days reads: "Like bees their queen so did the articulate sheep guard their divine father and pastor against the bad wolves."

After Theophan had secretly reinstated the Orthodox bishops in the churches seized by the Uniates, the Cossacks guarded the guest on his way to Constantinople. They parted movingly at Bush, a border town in Wallachia. Theophan called on Sahaidachny and the entire Zaporozhian Host to continue to defend the Orthodox faith and urged that they no longer take the consequences of sin by campaigning against fraternal Muscovy which was akin to them in religion.

The Polish nobles and Jesuits hoped that after Sahaidachny's death the Cossackdom would cease to be the support of the Orthodox Church. But they were grossly mistaken.

Shortly after Sahaidachny was no more, Hetman Pavlyuk called on the Cossacks to rebel against the oppression of the Polish nobles and Jesuits. His appeal read:

"I have received word that the enemies of our Orthodox Rus people and our ancient Greek faith — the *Lachs* * — having conceived harm and forgotten of fear before God, are advancing on Ukraine and the Dnieper, and by the will of the host of his Royal Highness as well as of the princely and lordly subjects of the Crown they want to spill Christian blood, expose our wives and children to mockery, and enslave us completely. Herewith, on my behalf and on behalf of the entire Zaporozhian Host, I order you and implore that all of you unanimously, young and old, whoever calls himself our friend and preserves the holy pious true faith, drop whatever he does and join me without delay."

Unfortunately, the Cossack uprising did not materialize this time. The commanders of the Polish troops, Koniecpolski, Potocki and the traitor Jeremi Wiśniowiecki adroitly availed of the disagreement among the separate Cossack chieftains.

Helped by the venal Adam Kisiel, they seized Pavlyuk and other leaders of the insurrection, and after lengthy torture chopped their heads off and impaled them.

With the blessing of the Jesuits and their Uniate hirelings, the Polish nobles fell upon a defenseless Ukraine, trying to drown its populace in blood. The atrocities knew no bounds. The royal troops beat the peasants, Cossacks, and Orthodox clergy to unconsciousness, tortured them, and then

* *Lachs* — Poles, later usually used disparagingly.

either hanged or impaled the victims. The enemy desecrated the Orthodox churches, converting them into taverns or cattle barns.

Now, as in the past, the Orthodox Church shared the bitter fate of their people.

A sizable part of the Ukrainian peasantry fled to Left-Bank Ukraine to seek refuge in the domains of the Czar of Muscovy where they found support and help. The Ukrainian Cossackdom, however, did not give up. They continued to wage a fierce and unequal battle with the Polish nobles and their Uniate henchmen. Like the entire Ukrainian people, the Cossacks believed in the day of reckoning.

And this day did come.

FOR UKRAINE AND ITS FAITH

Bohdan Khmelnitsky, a *Sotnik* (captain) in the Regiment of Chihirin, repeatedly took part in the Cossack insurrections, and had by that time distinguished himself for valor and loyalty to his native Ukraine.

Throughout his whole life Khmelnitsky shared both the fortunes and misfortunes of his people. He was also fated to live through a personal tragedy just like many an enslaved Ukrainian did under the rule of the Polish nobles. One day Daniel Czapliński, bailiff of Chihirin District, forcibly seized Khmelnitsky's estate, abducted his wife, and tortured his youngest son to death.

When the grief-stricken father filed a complaint, the court, instead of trying Czapliński, threw Khmelnitsky into prison, while his elder son was publicly whipped on the market square of Chihirin.

After he was freed from prison, Khmelnitsky tried to seek justice in Warsaw. The King, however, refused to help him.

Khmelnitsky realized that only a sharp Cossack saber and an insurgent, armed people could put an end to the injustices Ukraine had been suffering for centuries.

Back home, Khmelnitsky called on the people to rise in struggle against the oppressors:

"Are we really to go on suffering? Are we really to forsake our Rus Orthodox brothers at such an evil hour?

Traveling through Ukraine, I have seen terrible repression and tyranny; the unfortunate people implore to help them; everyone is prepared to take up arms, everyone promises to take one stand with us."

He also appealed to the Ukrainian clergy.

"Let it be known to you that I have decided to take revenge on the Polish lords by war not only because of personal wrongs done to me, but also because of the trampling upon of the Ukrainian faith and of the insults suffered by the Ukrainian people. I am helpless, but you, brothers, will help me!"

To which the clergy replied:

"Every hour we pray to God that he send us someone to free us from the *Lach.* Take up arms, we stand at your side: the Rus land will rise like it has never risen before!"

Khmelnitsky's activities could not, of course, be to the liking of the Polish nobility. Hetman Potocki ordered his men to arrest the rebel. But Khmelnitsky had fled to the Zaporozhian Sich by that time, and there disseminated his words of truth:

"Our faith has been mocked upon; honest bishops and monks have been deprived of their daily bread; the priests are being jeered at, while the Jesuits stand with knives at our throats; the Jesuits ruthlessly persecute the faith of our forefathers. The Sejm mocks at our complaints, and hurls at us abusive contempt like to some schismatics. Look at me, a Secretary of the Zaporozhian Host and old Cossack that I am: I had been awaiting retirement and rest, but I am hunted and persecuted only because the tyrants want it that way; my son was beaten up barbarously, my wife has been disgraced; my estate was taken away, I was even deprived of a charger and, in addition, I have been sentenced to death. There is no other reward for the blood I spilled for their own gains; I have nothing left for my wound-scarred body but guiltless death at the hands of the executioner. To you I strive with body and soul: hide me, your old comrade, and defend yourselves: you, too, are threatened with the same things!"

The Zaporozhian Cossacks responded unanimously:

"We accept you, Khmelnitsky, Sir, with bread and salt * and sincere hearts!"

* Tokens of welcome by old Ukrainian custom.

Khmelnitsky was elected Hetman of the Cossack Host, and soon the entire Ukraine, from one end to another, rose for mortal combat with the foreign overlords.

In the spring of 1648 Bohdan Khmelnitsky routed the Polish army at Zhovti Vody and Korsun. For the first time in many centuries, the people of Ukraine straightened their backs and breathed freely.

At this trying, decisive, historic moment the Orthodox clergy was one with the people and upheld its case with passionate words:

"The time has come, the long-awaited time... The time to recover the freedom and honor of our faith! Centuries have passed, and the Orthodox faith suffered shameful humiliation. We have even been denied a place for prayers. All our parishes, churches, monasteries, and the dioceses are in the hands of the Latins and Uniates... Rise for your life! The Lord God shall bless you and help you!"

The words of the patriotic clergy struck a responsive chord in the people who took up arms, drove the Polish lords and their henchmen out of Ukraine, again and again routing the Polish army, which in the end broke the backbone of the oppressive Jesuit state.

Every opportunity was used by the Polish magnates to take revenge on the Ukrainian people for their desire to be free. The renegade Jeremi Wiśniowiecki dealt with the Ukrainian peasantry, Cossacks and clergy with particular cruelty. But the reprisals only roused the people's righteous wrath the more. Soon the victorious troops of Bohdan Khmelnitsky appeared in the vicinity of Warsaw.

But Ukraine did not have the power to overcome the enemy completely on its own. After the Cossacks' defeat at Berestechko, when the Polish nobles allied with the Tatar hordes and again gutted Ukraine with fire and sword, the Ukrainian people turned to where they had often sought help at times of peril: northward to Muscovy, to the fraternal Russian people professing a like faith, a people with whom they would henceforth go down in history as an equal with an equal to gain glory and a better future.

THE FRATERNAL UNION

Right from the outset of their struggle against the Jesuits and the Brest Union, the Orthodox Ukrainians and Byelorussians saw in kindred Muscovy their natural ally. From there they drew consolation in their overwhelming grief.

The czars of Muscovy helped the Orthodox believers in Western Ukraine, especially the Stavropygia Brotherhood in Lviv; the construction of the grand Church of the Holy Dormition in Lviv is closely associated with the name of Czar Fedor Ioannovich. The bishops Kopinsky and Boriskovich sent Czar Mikhail Fèdorovich complaints on the bitter fate of the Ukrainian people, and he rendered them support in building churches, brotherhoods and schools.

The first printer Ivan Fedorov of Moscow played no small role in the development of Ukrainian culture and the Orthodox Church in Galicia. He spent the most productive part of his life in Lviv where he published *The Acts of the Apostles.*

Quite understandably, Warsaw and its Uniate followers tried everything possible to thwart the links between Ukraine and Muscovy. But they failed. When Muscovy gained in strength, and Ukraine rose in an uncompromising struggle against the Polish nobility, there was no longer any force to hinder the unification of the two fraternal peoples.

Back in 1652 Bohdan Khmelnitsky wrote to Czar Alexei Mikhailovich:

"...The Polish lords do not fulfil what they had agreed upon with us: the holy churches of God they had promised to return us from the Union have not been returned, and the ones that have been left us are being converted into Uniate churches besides. They want to uproot the Orthodox faith in our people for which purpose they have gathered an army against us; they desecrate the holy places, torture Orthodox Christians of both clerical and secular rank, and commit such atrocities which it would be difficult for your Czarist Highness to hear. With tears we beg your Czarist Highness that Your Majesty not let the oath violators and torturers destroy us completely; accept us under your powerful hand."

At a time when Ukraine groaned under the outrages of the Polish nobles, the Czar convened a *Zemsky Sobor* (Assembly)

in Moscow at which Bohdan Khmelnitsky's complaint was read out as well as his request to accept Ukraine with its capital city of Kiev under the protection of Muscovy. The boyars, townspeople and clergy present at the assembly unanimously agreed that Ukraine had to be saved from complete destruction.

Certain salvation could be achieved only by the closest union of the two fraternal peoples.

On January 8, 1654, a Grand *Rada* (Assembly) attended by envoys from Muscovy, was held in the town of Pereyaslav.

In his address to the *Rada,* Bohdan Khmelnitsky said:

"Sir colonels, *osavuls* *, *sotniks,* the whole Zaporozhian Host, and all Orthodox Christians. All of us know how God delivered us from the hands of the enemy who persecutes God's Church, enrages all the Christians of our Eastern Orthodox faith, and wants to eradicate us to the extent when the name Rus will not be heard of in our land. We have had it enough tolerating this and, clearly, we cannot live without a Czar any longer. That is why we have called the *Rada* today for all the people to see and for you and us to choose a ruler from among the four you want: the first, the Turkish Sultan who many a time has called on us through his envoys to come under his rule; the second, the Crimean Khan; the third, the Polish King who will welcome us now if we ourselves wish so; and the fourth, the Orthodox Czar of Great Rus, the Eastern Czar whom we have been continually imploring to be our Czar and lord for six years now. Choose of these whoever you wish! The Turkish Sultan is an infidel. All of us know what woe our Greek Orthodox brothers have suffered, what oppression they have endured from the janissaries. The Crimean Khan is also an infidel; although we have by need sought his friendship, we have thereby been inflicted by dire calamity, captivity, and merciless shedding of Christian blood. About the oppression of the Polish lords there is no need to speak: you know yourself that they respect a dog more than our Christian brother. But the Orthodox Christian Czar of the East is of one Greek faith with us, of one creed; we and the Orthodoxy of Great Rus are one body of the Church which has

* *Osavul* — a Cossack officer.

Jesus Christ for its Lord. This great Christian Czar has taken pity on the unbearable woe of the Orthodox Church in our Little Rus, and not scorning our pleas of six years, he has inclined his gracious czarist heart toward us and sent by his czarist grace his great councillors to us. Let us love him sincerely. But for his czarist hand we will not find a safer refuge. He who does not want to heed us, let him go wherever he wishes; his is a free road!"

In reply to the Hetman's speech, the people exclaimed: "We wish to be under the Eastern Czar! Better to die in the pious faith than to fall to the pagan, the hater of Christ!"

"Does everyone wish so?" the Colonel of Pereyaslav asked the people.

"Everyone! God confirm, God fortify us that we be united for ever!" thousands of the participants in the *Rada* pledged, and so did the entire Ukraine. From that day on Ukraine's destiny took another, a broad road. Our homeland ceased to be a "wild field" which any invader could dash across, turning the life of our people into an inferno on earth.

Unfortunately, not all of Ukraine freed itself from the yoke of outlanders. A part of our homeland remained under the rule of the Polish nobles, and the people of Right-Bank Ukraine, Galicia and Volhynia were forced to wage a bloody struggle for their liberation many and many a year.

IN THE UKRAINIAN CITY OF LVIV

Of the Ukrainian lands the Polish nobles had enslaved, Galicia was to hold on to its faith the longest.

Its people, who were the first to feel the yoke of foreign overlordship, had gained considerable experience at the price of blood and tears of many generations. They knew quite well the perfidious ways of their enemies, and were keenly aware that the most dangerous wolves were the ones wearing the habits of Catholic monks.

A hundred years had passed since the Brest Synod, but the Uniates had failed to build themselves a nest in Lviv, although here the oppression was the strongest and cruelest. This is what a contemporary wrote about the situation of the Orthodox believers in Lviv at that time:

"Oppressed we are, the Ruthenian people... by a yoke much worse than Egyptian captivity that exterminates us with our offspring without a sword but much worse than with a sword, forbidding us to possess goods and chattels, engage in trade, and derive all sorts of proceeds, because by whatever means a man can make himself a living is denied the Ukrainian in his native Ukrainian land and in this Ukrainian city of Lviv."

The Wallachian Church built in the late 16th century became a symbol of the suffering of the Ruthenians in Galicia. The magistrate on which sat only Germans and Poles did not agree to have it built for a long time. When at last permission was granted for large bribes, the magistrate councillors found thousands of pretexts not to permit its completion, while a crowd incited by Polish Catholic priests showered the builders with stones and desecrated the place designated for the altar.

The Ruthenians of Lviv lived through ghastly horror during the nationwide uprising led by Bohdan Khmelnitsky. Shortly before his troops laid siege to the city the first time, over 500 Orthodox residents died at the hands of the monks and Polish soldiers in the local Bernardine monastery alone.

The relentless and ever crueler persecution of the Orthodox in the Western Ukrainian lands was to lead cultural life there to a decline sooner or later and weaken the resistance of the defenders of the faith and the Ukrainian national identity, the more so since the most conscious and active Galician Ruthenians had left for the east where they took an active part in Khmelnitsky's rebellion. Eventually, after the Pereyaslav compact, they gained leading positions in the state apparatus and church hierarchy of Russia and Ukraine. Let us recall here but the Galician family of the Yavorskys, a member of which became head of the Russian Orthodox Church and the closest associate of Peter the Great.

The populace of Western Ukraine would have continued defending Orthodoxy steadfastly had it not been for deceit and treason.

The traitor who proved useful to the Polish nobles and the Jesuits was the Lviv Bishop Joseph Shumlyansky. In his desire to make a career, he secretly accepted the Brest Union in his younger years, but then, persuaded by the cunning Jesuits, he

returned to the faith of his forefathers for the only purpose of being appointed an Orthodox bishop.

Occupying the office of Bishop of Lviv, he took up with like-minded traitors who hunted for bishoprics as well: Innocent Vinnitsky and Varlaam Sheptitsky. The ambitious Shumlyansky was not content with being a bishop; he dreamed of becoming a Metropolitan of Lviv by the grace of the Polish King and the Pope.

The King was prepared to help Shumlyansky make his dream come true, but the latter convinced him that a hasty appointment would make the Orthodox wary and foil all the schemes of enforcing the church union in Galicia. He advised to act cautiously, in strictest secrecy, while enhancing the terror and winning the weakwilled Orthodox over to the Union.

Such a devious policy yielded quite a few gains for the Polish nobles and Jesuits. The number of traitors increased so that Shumlyansky did not feel himself lonely any more. Now the mask could be doffed: in 1700 Shumlyansky officially declared the union of the churches.

But none of the common people followed Shumlyansky, and the Lviv Brotherhood continued to defend the faith of our forefathers as much as it could. So Shumlyansky, following the tradition of other Uniates, resorted to violence.

With the assistance of the troops under Polish Hetman Jabłonowski, he had the door of the Wallachian Church broken down, beat up and threw out into the street the Orthodox priest who had been conducting divine service just then, took his place at the altar, and declared the church a Uniate temple.

Deprived of a church, the Lviv Brotherhood, however, did not submit. So another trick was hatched. When Swedish troops laid siege to the city, the Polish magistrate, on advice of the Uniates, forced the Brotherhood to pay 120,000 in gold out of its funds as contribution the Swedes had imposed on the city.

Completely plundered and deprived by Shumlyansky of whatever sources of income, the Lviv Brotherhood fell into ultimate decline, and in 1708, after more than a century of dogged defense of the Ukrainians' faith and national identity, it was forced to lay down its arms.

The union of the churches "triumphed" in Galicia by the hands of the irreconcilable and cruelest enemies of the Ukrainian people — the Polish nobles, Jesuits and traitors. The stamp of violence and treason would stay impressed on the Union throughout its entire infamous existence, and as the developments of subsequent centuries showed, whoever served the Union served the enemies of Ukraine.

BEYOND THE CARPATHIANS

The destiny of the Transcarpathian branch of the Ukrainian people provides us with perhaps the best proof of the disastrous effect of the Union. As long as Galicia remained Orthodox the Ukrainians on both sides of the Carpathians shared a common cultural life.

In spite of the fact that Carpatho-Ukraine was within the borders of another state, Hungary, the bishops of Peremyshl directed the Carpatho-Ukrainian parishes, and books published in Kiev and Lviv reached the towns of Mukacheve, Berehove and Khust.

Just as in Western Ukraine, landed magnates and Jesuits engineered the church union in Carpatho-Ukraine. One of the magnates, Homonai, first attempted to introduce the Union in the early 17th century. His attempt ended rather unpleasantly for him and his associates: they were forced to beat a hasty retreat under the blows of the peasants armed with stakes and pitchforks.

After this failure the nobility and Catholic priests decided to apply the methods that had been so thoroughly tested in Western Ukraine. They started to win over some of the Orthodox clerics who were especially sensitive to the jingle of ducats. In the end, they managed to recruit a little group of apostates who gathered in Uzhgorod in 1649 and proclaimed the union of the Carpatho-Ukrainian Orthodox Church with Rome.

Regardless of what the apostates declared, the people held on to their faith. The Union did not appeal to them, and the famous Monastery of Mukacheve, founded in ancient times, remained a stronghold of Orthodoxy in the Carpathians for a long time.

Fortune smiled upon the Uniates only when their cause was taken up by the Austrian government with whips and gallows. Anyone who opposed the Union was in for cruel trouble. In the wake of the Uniate priests came executioners with instruments of torture and nooses, and the villages that remained true to the Orthodox faith were destroyed by fire and sword.

A chronicler of the 1690s* wrote about those horrible times:

"Be horrified together with me, the living faithful, at what the Latins do! Why do they drag and pull by force our Church? I'd wish they die quick and fast for begging and pleading me to convert. To what? To the Union? Pah, I spit on it; neither my clothes nor my bones or the ashes of my clothes want it! I have no need of their god!"

For another one hundred years after that the Carpatho-Ukrainians resolutely opposed the offensive of the Uniates, and in 1760 such powerful resistance flared up in the western part of Carpatho-Ukraine that the Austrian Empress could save the Union in this part of her realm only by ordering her troops and gendarmes to intervene.

After the Union had gained foothold on either side of the Carpathians, the links between the Ukrainians living along the Dnieper and the Tisza were severed, and at the time when the Polish land steward laid on the whip in Galicia, the henchmen of the Magyar gentry, in cahoots with the Uniate clergy, harrassed the people in Carpatho-Ukraine. What had once been a factor of unity despite the existing national borders — namely, one common faith — had now been broken by Catholicism. Most of the Uniate clerics of Carpatho-Ukraine became the most loyal tools in Magyarizing the local Ruthenians.

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* Reference to the Ukrainian writer-polemicist Mikhailo Andrella (circa 1637-1710). Initially a Uniate priest in Carpatho-Ukraine, he then renounced the Union and wrote polemical works exposing the crimes of the Jesuits and Uniates.

DIVIDED BY FORCE — UNITED BY LOVE

With the decline of Poland and the return of most of the Byelorussian and Ukrainian lands to a single family of Rus nations, the church union lost ground in these territories completely. As it proved, the Uniate faith could prevail only with foreign bayonets. Once the bayonets disappeared, the Union had to disappear as well.

That is precisely what happened.

As soon as the Russian government announced that the Uniates could freely return into the fold of the Orthodox Church, three million Uniates, that is, more than a half of them, once again accepted the faith of their forefathers.

The laymen were joined by the Uniate clergy. In February 1839 all the Uniate bishops and noted priests gathered in Polotsk — the very same town where Josaphat Kuntsevich used to storm in his apostate rage — and adopted a solemn declaration which read, in part:

"...The cunning policy of the former *Rzeczpospolita* and, accordingly, the trend adopted by the local Latin clergy who did not tolerate the very spirit of the Ruthenian identity and the ancient rites of the Orthodox East, directed all its efforts to destroy whenever possible even the traces of the initial origin of our people and our Church. By these pernicious efforts our forebears experienced the worst lot after accepting the Union. The nobility, restricted in their rights, embraced the Roman creed, while the townsfolk and peasants, who did not betray their ancestors' customs that still held in the Union, were ruthlessly oppressed... Today, by the grace of the all-merciful God, we have joined the Orthodox Eastern Church, and now we have not so much to restore but to declare our unity with it. That is why we have decided to firmly and constantly recognize again the unity of our Church with the Orthodox Eastern Church and henceforth stay together with the parishes entrusted us, in single-mindedness with the holiest Eastern Orthodox patriarchs and in obedience to the Holy Synod."

The declaration was signed by the Uniate bishops and 1,326 Uniate priests.

The laymen followed the example of their priests. On May 14 that same year a large meeting of laymen took place in the town of Vitebsk; at long last they could reject the Union which had been a symbol of oppression and slavery for so many years.

In the Chełm (Kholm) area, where the pressure of the Polish nobility and Jesuits was very strong, the Union held out the longest and prevailed long after the Chełm lands were annexed to Russia. But there, too, the light of truth gradually dispelled the Uniate darkness. In 1875 the Chełm Uniates joined the Orthodox Church as well.

It was only Galicia which still remained in the claws of the Union to the misfortune of the Ruthenians.

UNDER THE WINGS OF THE HAPSBURG EAGLE

In 1772 Galicia, and along with it Lviv, was occupied by the troops of the Austrian Empress Maria Theresa, and from that time on until the fall of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1918, the lands of Prince Danilo remained under Austrian rule.

It would seem that once the Ruthenians of Galicia had rid themselves of the Polish nobles, they had the opportunity to do away with the Union and join their Orthodox faith. But this did not happen.

It did not happen because, firstly, being free of a nobility-ruled state, the Ruthenians of Galicia continued to remain under the oppression of the Polish nobles now supported by the Austrian government, and, secondly, the Austrian government was just as interested in implanting the Union as the Polish kings had been. For the Austrian emperors the Union was the same instrument for isolating the Western Ukrainians from the Orthodox East as it had previously been for Warsaw. In their hands the Union had to be like a Chinese Wall separating the Galicians from their brothers living along the Zbruch River and hindering their reunion.

So immediately after Austrian rule was established in Galicia, Vienna adopted every measure to make the Uniate clergy its obedient tool.

Considering that the best way to the hearts of the Uniate clergy ran through the pocket, Emperor Joseph instituted a so-called religious fund out of the property of the monasteries he himself had confiscated, and the profits from this fund he gave to the Uniate priests in the form of monthly pay. Besides, he founded a Uniate Seminary in Lviv which was to graduate priests coached in loyalty to the Austrian Empire.

To break every link between the Western and Eastern Ukrainians, Emperor Franz I decided to abolish the dependence of the Galician clergy on their Kiev Metropolitan See and instead established a separate Metropolitan See in Lviv. It is self-understood that the Austrian emperors appointed the Galician Uniate metropolitans from among their most loyal subjects.

The first such Austrian-produced Metropolitan, Antin Angelovich, proved to be the most menial servant of the Austrian Emperor. During Austria's war with Napoleon, Angelovich showed himself to be such a zealous "patriot" that he had to flee the wrath of the enraged residents of Lviv. But when the danger for Austria subsided, the Emperor decorated Angelovich with a Grand Cross of Leopold and granted his assistant Harasevich the German title of "Baron von Neustern."

Neither were the Uniates left out of the field of vision of the Roman pontiffs who were very influential in the policy decisions of Austria which replaced Poland in expanding the church union in the East after Poland had disappeared from the political map of Europe.

Pope Leo XIII paid particularly keen attention to the affairs of the Basilian Order of Uniate monks. Founded by the Polish kings with the assistance of the Jesuits, the order declined drearily with the loss of Warsaw's patronage after Austria had occupied Galicia. The Basilians, a Uniate version of the Jesuit Order, were hated by the Ruthenians for their savage loyalty to the magnates and the Pope. They were a vanguard unit of the Catholic crusade in the East and the cruelest torturers of the Orthodox believers. That is why none of the Ruthenians shed a tear when the Basilians, evicted by Polish troops from the Pochaiv Lavra, wandered around the Galician backyards, biding their time until the magnates would recall them and reenlist their invidious services.

Pope Leo XIII recalled them. And so in the 1890s the Pope, with the support of the Austrian Emperor, extracted the Basilians from the murk of the past. He decided to reorganize the order and entrusted this job to our old acquaintances — the Jesuits — who had been condemned by the Ukrainian people long since.

With the restoration of the order, the Uniate Church entered a new stage in its history. A new and a much more grossly infamous stage it was for that matter. The chained dogs were trained and set on the Ukrainian people, and then let loose.

ANDRIY SHEPTITSKY

Prussia's victory in the war of 1870 and the unification of the small German lands into an empire produced a new large power in the heart of Europe. The spectacular development of the German industry made it possible for the German imperialists to build up one of the mightiest armed forces in the world. The kaisers and Junkers started to indulge in dreams of world supremacy. The most essential part of such a supremacy would be the conquest of the Slavic East, the rich lands of Ukraine first of all.

The obstacle standing in the way of Germany in materializing her plans was Russia — the only Slavic power capable of defending the Slavic world from the greed of the German conquerors. This factor was to determine all of Germany's future policies which, especially after the death of the restrained and cautious Bismarck, were directed at preparing an armed subjugation of Russia and her peoples.

Austria-Hungary, repeatedly beaten by Prussia, became enamored of the Germany of Wilhelm II. These two former adversaries were united by a common feeling of hatred for Russia and the Slavic world. Austria, a conglomeration of peoples, was quickly nearing its natural death, shaken loose that it was by the Slavs it had enslaved. The union with Germany had to guarantee Austria its continued rule over the Slavs.

The Austrian politicians, who dreamed of gradually conquering the entire Slavic South, knew that Russia would do everything in its power to hinder the enslavement of

Serbia and Montenegro. This explains Austria's orientation on Germany. Vienna's politicians believed that the union with Germany would not only paralyze Russia's every attempt at hindering Austria's campaign on the Balkans, but would also, in case of a future war, guarantee it complete victory over Russia and, consequently, over the entire Slavic world.

This hostile alliance was joined by yet a third party — the Pope who hoped that the defeat of Russia would open the opportunity for Catholicism to penetrate deep into the East, right up to the Pacific Ocean. So the Vatican teamed up with the Austro-German imperialists and supported their every move on the international arena whenever it was directed against the Slavic East.

The fact that Wilhelm II, as well as the majority of the Germans, were Protestants did not embarrass the Pope in the least. He would enter into an alliance with the devil himself if only this alliance went against the Orthodox.

This anti-Russian coalition even found a common bridgehead. For this purpose they chose Galicia; on a comparatively small territory the enemies of the Slavic world hoped to build their military and political basis for war against Russia.

The Uniates stood them in good stead in this case. The reorganization, or the so-called reform, of the Basilian Order effected by the Pope showed that the Vatican kitchen was brewing something. The underlying idea was to make the Uniate Church capable of implementing the objectives of the Berlin-Vienna-Vatican triangle. For this purpose a sizable unit of clerical adventurers who would spare no effort in fulfilling the anti-Russian schemes of the German adventurers had to be drilled.

And so the "reformed" Basilians got down to work. From pulpits, rostrums, and occasional tribunes, violent abuse was thundered at Russia, its people, culture, and the Orthodox faith. On Austro-German funds the very same Basilians started to release books and booklets filled with the venom of bestial chauvinism and religious intolerance. The way they pictured Josaphat Kuntsevich he was short of being a national hero.

Thus the Basilian monks turned into the fathers of the Ukrainian nationalists, the cruelest enemies of the Ukrainians.

To tell the truth, not all the Uniate clerics of Galicia were given to such unbridled venality. There were honorable exceptions, when people could not reconcile their conscience with the policy of the Uniate Church and sought to return to the faith of their forebears. The most noted among them was Ivan Naumovich, who not only embraced Orthodoxy himself, but ardently appealed to other believers to follow his example. For this the Vatican punished Naumovich cruelly: he was poisoned by a Papal agent.

Among the Uniate priests there were also those who, though they did not break with the Union, still censured the odious policies of "the servants of God" and strived to see Galicia and Russia united. But their mistake was that they sought common language not with the Russian people but with the czarist regime that was hostile to the subjects it ruled.

In the late 19th century when the conflict of Austria and Germany with Russia became but a question of time, the anti-Russian fever reached its peak in Galicia.

After the death of the Metropolitan of Lviv, Silvester Sembratovich, who was awarded the title of Cardinal, Rome and Vienna put in his place a man who had all the qualities to meet his masters' requirements — Count Andriy Sheptitsky, a rich landowner of Polonized parentage.

With the appointment of Sheptitsky, a former Austrian cavalry officer, the Uniate Church became an obvious agent of the Austro-German imperialists. It was Sheptitsky, who carried out the main work in reorganizing the Basilian Order, it was he, who vehemently attacked the Orthodox "heretics," it was he, who called for a military campaign against the peoples of the Russian Empire.

This diplomat of a Jesuit brand preserved his calm when political passions seethed around him, so as to appear in the role of arbiter at the appropriate moment and thereby gain the fame of an impartial person.

But this was not the only way the new Metropolitan augmented his prestige. As an adherent of a gradual Latinization of the Uniate rites, he condemned his subordinate bishops

when they tried to do the same, and then, after the naive parishioners he had enraptured got weary of extolling their Metropolitan for being "loyal to our rites," Sheptitsky himself Latinized the Church on the sly. The best proof of the count's duplicity was his tactic with regard to celibacy. *

Sheptitsky eagerly engaged in good works, considering it the best way to gain influence among the poor of Galicia. For the money he got out of the public coffers of Austria and Germany, and the profits his large personal estates reaped, Sheptitsky built a museum and hospital in Lviv and distributed monetary aid among the Galician artists and journalists, trying in this way to win their sympathy and support for his political ends.

By and by Sheptitsky laid his hand on the entire economic life of Galician Ukraine as well. The Ukrainian "Mortgage Bank," in which about 80 percent of the principal capital belonged to the Metropolitan, began to play an important role not only in the economic, but also in the political life of Ruthenia, influencing in a decisive measure the views of venal politicians.

That's how Sheptitsky provided for his influence, and soon the time came when he could use it for his own ends.

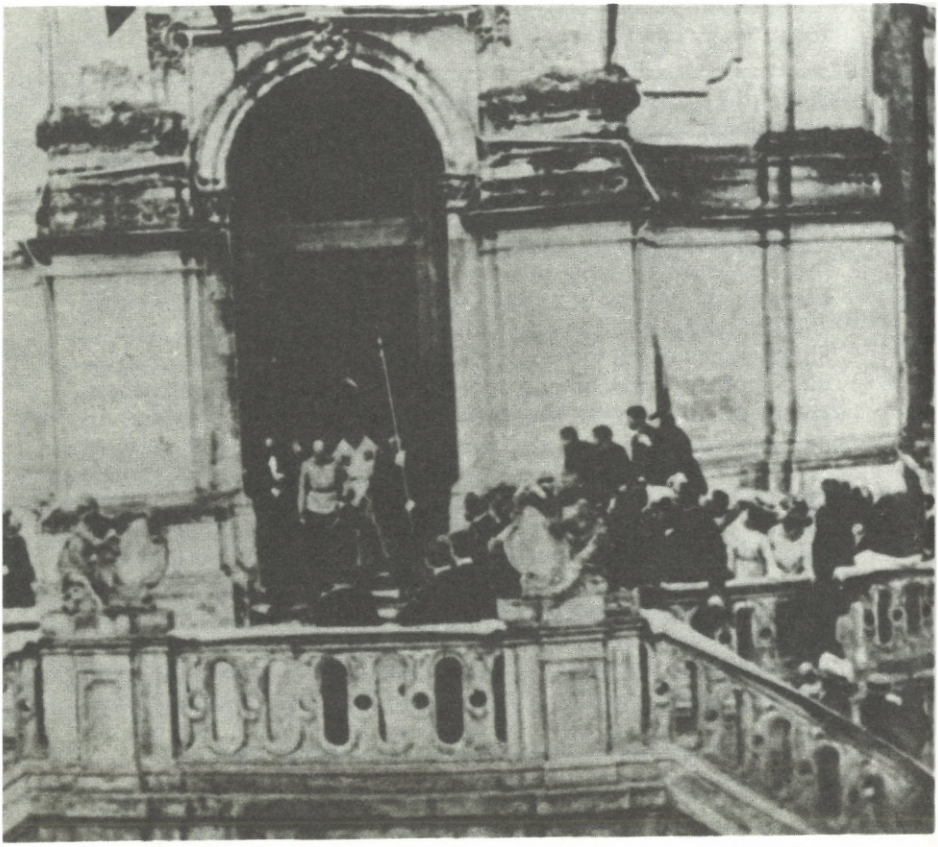
IN THE FIRE AND BLOOD

The war with Russia hung by a thread. For Metropolitan Sheptitsky the long awaited hour was approaching.

This haughty man was not content with holding the office of Metropolitan any more; he harbored optimistic expectations in case of Germany and Austria's victory. He was promised the office of Exarch of all Ukraine and Russia, and so the only thing left for him was to ensure it.

Sheptitsky took an active part in the war preparations; he was one of the founders and patrons of nationalist paramilitary organizations whose members, under the fatherly eye of the intelligence department of the Austrian General Headquarters,

* By gradually introducing celibacy for the Greek-Catholic clergy, he wanted to abolish the difference between the Uniate and Catholic priests.



"The war breaks out.
The metropolitan pretends not to see the long columns of people which the Austrian militaries send to death."
— Yaroslav Halan.
With a Cross or a Knife.

Above. Emperor of Austria-Hungary Francis Joseph I arm in arm with Metropolitan Andrey Sheptitsky coming out of the St. George's Cathedral in Lviv after a ceremonial service in honor of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy.

learned mercenary trades to the glory of the Austrian and German emperors.

At the Metropolitan's seat within the grounds of St. George's Cathedral, plans were hatched for the conquest of the East by the Germans and the Uniate missionaries, and here the methods of demoralization in the Russian rear were discussed in detail.

When the hour for universal massacre struck at last, Sheptitsky blessed the Austro-German regiments marching to the East and North in endlessly long columns. But he did not raise his hand in blessing when Austrian gendarmes escorted past his palace hundreds and thousands of tortured peasants and intellectuals, among them many of his priests. Sheptitsky did not wish to look at these unfortunate people. The Austrian authorities accused them of collaborating with the Russians, and that was enough for the count not to hear the creaking of numerous gallows nor the screams of the Ruthenians who were shot to death.

During the first phase of the war, however, the Austrians were down on their luck, and Andriy Sheptitsky himself was to feel the consequences. The Russian troops occupied Lviv. On orders of the Russian command, Sheptitsky was arrested as a dangerous agent of a belligerent power. This was followed by the "thorny path" of Sheptitsky which his nationalist admirers of the Union comment on so eagerly. He was conveyed to Kursk, then to Suzdal, and from there to Yaroslavl, but the conditions of his confinement hardly reminded a prison: the Metropolitan stayed in comfortable

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"...The Uniate Church had by that time become more accustomed to its stronger patron — Germany — and pinned all its hopes on the restoration of its might. In the meantime Sheptitsky was rallying all the reactionary forces in Western Ukraine, thereby creating a basis for... an armed campaign against... the Soviet East."
— Yaroslav Halan.
What the Uniate Church Is All About.

Overleaf. Metropolitan Andrey Sheptitsky putting his pupils on the perilous way of struggle against Soviet Ukraine.

Above. Sheptitsky with a swastika on his breast poisoning young minds with anti-Soviet propaganda.
Opposite. Military prayer book issued by the *Wehrmacht* a week before nazi Germany attacked Poland in 1939.
By publishing an oath of loyalty to god and Hitler, catholic priests had committed sacrilege and had consecrated all the crimes of fascism in advance.

H. Do. 372
M. Do. Nr. 838
L. Do. 42

KATHOLISCHES
Feldgesangbuch

Verlag E. S. Mittler & Sohn · Berlin SW68

suites, and his meals did not differ in any way from what he had enjoyed back in Lviv.

But the emperors of Austria and Germany did not forget their loyal servant: through the offices of their "neutral" ally, the Spanish King Alfonso, they put pressure on the government of Count Lvov, and the latter released Sheptitsky.

The freed "martyr" did not relinquish his ambitious intentions, and a couple of days after his release he was in Petrograd where he pleaded before the Provisional Government to legalize — of all things! — the Uniate Church in Russia.

He felt so self-assured that without waiting for the decision of the Provisional Government, he appointed a Uniate Exarch in Petrograd, and then left for Kiev.

In Kiev he, too, installed an Exarch and conducted lengthy, more or less secret talks with the members of the Central Rada who received him like an honored guest.

Sheptitsky, though, did not stay long in Kiev. He hurried back to Lviv, to the other side of the front where he hoped to find a force capable of quelling the imminent revolution in Ukraine and Russia. The place where these forces prepared for the decisive blow against the revolutionary East was Sheptitsky's domain.

But his hopes were in vain. The Austro-German occupation of Ukraine was too short-lived for the Uniate Exarch Sheptitsky to establish even one Uniate parish, and no sooner had the Metropolitan left for Kiev the second time, his Austrian and German patrons had shut up shop.

The ambitious count was back where he started.

UNDER THE COVER OF WARSAW

After several months of dogged struggle for self-determination, Western Ukraine fell under the rule of Poland, and the Warsaw dictator Piłsudski pursued the policy of Władysław Jagiełło, a policy that called for a campaign of conquest against the East.

The Uniate Church got the opportunity to regain the role it had played before 1772. Yet times had changed, and the new reality demanded a change in tactics. To the east of the Zbruch River there had appeared a Soviet Ukrainian state which the

oppressed masses of the Western Ukrainian lands looked upon with hope. That is why any overt union of the Uniate Church with Warsaw was inevitably doomed to failure.

There had to be a golden mean in this case. Without flirting openly with Warsaw, Metropolitan Sheptitsky simultaneously gave his flock to understand that all power came from God.

Besides, the Uniate Church had by that time become more accustomed to its stronger patron — Germany — and pinned all its hopes on the restoration of its might.

In the meantime Sheptitsky was rallying all the reactionary forces in Western Ukraine, thereby creating a basis for a new armed campaign against the East, this time against the Soviet East.

To strengthen his control over the political life in Western Ukraine, the count founded his own "non-partisan" party — the Ukrainian Catholic Union. The press organ of this "Christian" party, the weekly *Meta* (Purpose), did not so much as try to hide its raw, bestial hatred of the Soviet people.

In its April 17, 1932 issue, *Meta* presented the following picture of the intentions of Sheptitsky who extolled his distant forerunner Josaphat Kuntsevich so highly not without reason:

"Ukrainian nationalism must be prepared for every kind of struggle with communism, without excluding physical extermination en mass, even at the sacrifice of millions of human existences."

As we see, like father, like son.

Sheptitsky's policy with regard to Poland was particularly distinctive. In the cellars of his palace he established a hospital for the peasants who had been maimed by Piłsudski's punitive units in the spring of 1930. This did not hinder him from directing the policy of the UNDO (Ukrainian National Democratic Union) delegated in such a way that they became obedient tools of the very same Piłsudski and rendered him countless services in and outside the Sejm, helping him to take in hand not only the Polish but the Ukrainian opposition as well.

With Hitler's seizure of power in Germany, Sheptitsky's ship started to scud under the black sails of fascism. As the military might of Germany increased, the orientation of Sheptitsky, and along with him of the entire Ukrainian nationalist movement, on Berlin gained ever more vivid forms.

The money for the fascist OUN was channeled through the Metropolitan's palace. For a long time one of its residents was the OUN chieftain, Andriy Melnyk, who lived there under the guise of steward of the Metropolitan's estates. From here he sent instructions and orders to his cutthroats.

Sheptitsky took an increasingly active part in the campaign of anti-Soviet incitement organized by nazi Berlin and the Vatican. He and his immediate Vatican instructor, Cardinal Innzer, became the leaders of anti-Soviet propaganda in all of northeastern Europe, while Sheptitsky's subordinate clergy, especially the younger ones he himself had drilled, were engaged in every imaginable form of propaganda for launching a crusade against the Soviet Union.

In 1936 when the German Junkers bombers staged a dress rehearsal of wiping blocks of buildings off the face of the earth in Spain's towns, and Hitler's pilots strafed defenseless women and children in Madrid and Barcelona, Sheptitsky released a "pastoral" in which he called on the Ukrainian young people to follow the example of the "lions of Alcazar," i. e., the fascist murderers under the German protégé in Spain — General Franco.

And this happened at a time when thousands of the best patriots of Western Ukraine — workers, peasants, intellectuals — were spilling their blood in Spain in an unequal struggle with the bands of General Franco and his Italo-German supporters. Well, they were dying for the freedom the Uniate Metropolitan hated so much.

THE BLOW

Sheptitsky was dealt a cruel blow when instead of the nazi army he had been waiting for so long, the Red Army marched into Western Ukraine.

The people's overwhelming joy in the historic September days so memorable to us turned into a tragedy for the count. His only consolation was to hope that the peace between Germany and the Soviet Union would not last long, and Hitler would attack the Soviet land sooner or later.

The more Sheptitsky's hope developed into certainty, the

more brazen became the headquarters of the reactionaries in his seat at St. George's Cathedral.

In 1940 the Metropolitan's office released an illegal booklet. *The Principal Rules of the Current Priesthood,* with instructions on what the Uniate priests had to do lest their policy directed against the people attract the attention of the Soviet authorities. This document of blustering hypocrisy ends with the following "pious" sigh:

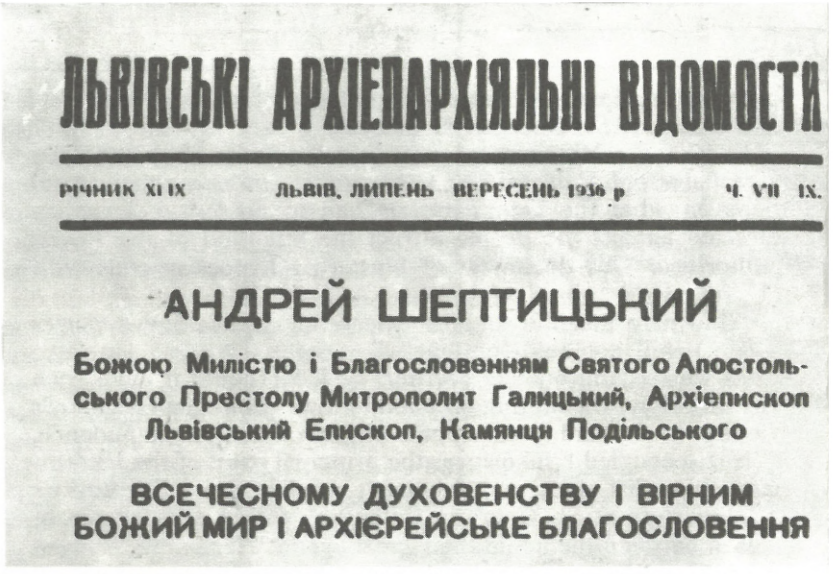
"God help that the state of emergency (read: Soviet power — Ed.) will not hold for long!..."

As we see, the booklet's writer, C. J. S. (could it have been Joseph Slipiy?), counting on imminent war and nazi Germany's victory in it, had overstepped all the limits of impudence.

Nazi-occupied Kraków was the principal roost of the Ukrainian nationalist spies and saboteurs at that time. Sheptitsky's headquarters at St. George's Cathedral served as a center of liaison between them and their local agents. Here they received from the Western nazis promises which roused the almost darkened hopes of the ruthlessly ambitious Metropolitan.

"On the second day after Hindenburg
appointed Hitler Chancellor of Germany, Sheptitsky clearly began to pursue a course of fascism."
— Yaroslav Halan.
With a Cross or a Knife.

Concerned with the revolutionary influence of the antifascist congress of the workers of culture in Lviv (May 1936),
in which Yaroslav Halan took an active part, the Uniate Metropolitan
Sheptitsky set his clergy and believers on the communists.



ЛЬВІВСЬКІ АРХІЕПАРХІЯЛЬНІ ВІДОМОСТІ

РІЧНИК XLIX ЛЬВІВ, ЛИПЕНЬ ВЕРЕСЕНЬ 1936 р Ч. VII IX.

АНДРЕЙ ШЕПТИЦЬКИЙ

Божою Милістю і Благословенням Святого Апостольського Престолу Митрополит Галицький, Архієпископ Львівський Епископ, Камянця Подільського

ВСЕЧЕСНОМУ ДУХОВЕНСТВУ І ВІРНИМ БОЖИЙ МИР І АРХІЄРЕЙСЬКЕ БЛАГОСЛОВЕННЯ

Above. The beginning of Sheptitsky's pastoral to his clergy and believers, published in the *Lviv Archdiocesan News* Nos. 7—9 of June-August 1936.

In this pastoral Sheptitsky went as far as to describe any assistance to "communists in their work, even purely political," as well as assistance "in setting up a so-called people's front together with socialists and radicals" as a betrayal of the church, people and "the ill-treated throughout the world."

Opposite. Photocopy of Sheptitsky's pastoral of July 5, 1941 to the Uniate clergy and believers. He wrote in particular:

"We greet with joy and gratitude the victorious German army which has occupied almost the whole of our land...

"...In order to thank the Almighty for everything He has given us and ask Him to be graceful to us in the future, every priest, on the Sunday following his receiving of this appeal, should hold a thanksgiving service and after singing *Te Deum* wish many years of life to the victorious German army..."

Ч.Орд.63.

До

Духовенства і Вірних Архієпархії

З волі Всемогучого і Всемилостивого Бога зачинається нова епоха в житті нашої Батьківщини.

Побідоносну німецьку армію, що завдала вже майже цілій край винищення в радість і вдячність за освобождення від ворога.

У тій важній історичній хвилі взиваю Вас, Отці і Брати, до вдячности для Бога, вірности для Його Церкви, послуху для Влади і усильної праці для добра Батьківщини.

Усі ми почуваємося Українцями і хотять працювати для добра України нехай забудуть про якінебудь партійні роздори, нехай працюють в єдности і згоді над відбудовою так дуже знищеного большевиками нашого економічного, просвітнього і культурного життя. Тоді в Нові надія, що на підвалинах солідарности і усильної праці всіх Українців постане Соборна Україна не тільки як велике слово і ідея, але як живий, життєдатний, здоровий, могутній, державний організм, побудований жертвою життя одних, в муравельною працею, зеліянням зусиллями і трудами других.

Щоби Всевишньому подякувати за все що дав і упросити потрібних ласк на майбутнє кожний душпастир відправить в найближчу неділю по отриманні цього заклику благодарственну Богослужбу та по пісні "Тебе Бога хвалимо.." вчасне многолітствія побідоносній німецькій Армії та українському Народові.

Дано у Львові 5.липня 1941 р.

† Андрей Митрополит

In an appeal to his clergy of 1940, he wrote:

"...Many of us God will bless with His kindness to preach in the churches of Greater Ukraine, Right- and Left-Bank, right up to the Kuban and the Caucasus, Moscow and Tobolsk."

Today such dreams might seem mad to us. But back in those days the belief of Sheptitsky and his Uniate adherents in Hitler being all-powerful and his armies invincible was, perhaps, much stronger than their belief in the dogmas of the Uniate Church.

DREAMS AND REALITY

The hour the count had been waiting for so long had struck at last. Hitler's troops invaded our country.

No sooner had the fires caused by the nazi bombers died down than Sheptitsky was already praying for the "victorious German army" and blessing the Bandera "government" with Stetsko at its head.

While Sheptitsky greeted the German nazi hordes open-heartedly, he hastened at the same time to assure the nazi generals of the Uniate Church's infinite loyalty to the *Führer's* cause. In an epistle made public several days later, he called

☞

The hypocrites from the so-called Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church (UAPTs) were as zealous as the Uniates in their servility to the nazi invaders.

Opposite. The newspaper *Ukrainski Holos* (Ukrainian Voice) published in Lutsk at the time of nazi occupation placed on its front page an instruction of the UAPTs about commemorating Hitler's birthday with speeches and services. The instruction also said: "Besides, you should put an emphasis on the believers' duty to render assistance to the German soldier by their work and to be on their guard against hostile elements engaged in activities to the detriment of..."

УКРАЇНСЬКИЙ ГОЛОС

ЦІНА 1 зр6

UKRAINISCHE STIMME

ВИХОДИТЬ РАЗ НА ТИЖДЕНЬ

Ч 16(31)

Адреса і Адміністрація: Луцьк, вул. Шевченка 91.

Луцьк, четвер 16 квітня 1942 р

Ч. 16 (31) УКРАЇНСЬ

ЛУЦЬКА ПРАВОСЛАВНА
ДУХОВНА КОНСИСТОРІЯ
ч. 617
10 квітня 1942 р.

ДО О.О. БЛАГОЧИННИХ ЛУЦЬКО-КОВЕЛЬСЬКОЇ ЄПАРХІЇ

День 20-го квітня є днем народження Великого Вождя Німецького Народу Адольфа Гітлера.

В зв'язку з цим Луцьке Духовне Консисторія з наказу Владики Почаївського, Архієпископа Луцького і Ковельського, Адміністратора Свящ. Автокефальної Православної Церкви на Волинських українських землях доручає духовенству парафій в сільських парафіях дня 19-го квітня 1942 року по службі Божій, а в міських парафіях дня 20-го квітня, в самий день народження Вождя, відправити урочистий молебень за здоров'я Вождя Німецького Народу і загальновійськові многоліття, виголошуючи молебень відповідною проповіддю в якій слід підкреслити значіння Генія Адольфа Гітлера в урятуванні українського народу і цілої Европи від безбожної комуни.

Одночасно доручається підкреслити вірним їх обов'язок допомогати в змаганні Німецькому Воїнові своєю працею і бути чуйними щодо ворожих елементів, які провадять шкідливу роботу проти інтересів Німецького і Українського народів.

На виконання сього одержане обіжник доручається молебень відправити в першу неділю по одержанні обіжника.

Голова Консисторії
Прот. М. Малишевський
Секретар М. Тарасевич

Блюзнірська директива ватажків УАПЦ № 617 про відправлення урочистого молебня «за здоров'я Вождя Німецького Народу».

on his flock to render every possible assistance to the German armed forces. And not to them alone, but to the Gestapo as well:

"Attention must also be drawn to the people who sincerely served the Bolsheviks..."

The count servilely helped the German invaders plunder the Ukrainian peasants: he permitted Uniate priests to conduct worship on holidays after sunset, so that the harvest be brought in on time for the German armies.

After such favors Andriy Sheptitsky had enough reason to expect rewards. But Hitler was in no hurry. Moreoever, he prohibited the Galician Uniate priests from traveling beyond the Zbruch, and obliterated Bandera's government which Sheptitsky had blessed. Why? The thing is that Hitler and his clique were so self-confident that they thought it better to do without the cooperation of the nationalist orderlies.

So Sheptitsky was back where he started again.

After the events at Stalingrad, however, Hitler again recalled his nationalist lackeys. On his instruction, the governor of Galicia Wächter announced the recruitment into what was called the SS Division Halichina. For this purpose he had to have recruiters. Hitler found them again on St. George's Hill whose residents were ever loyal to Berlin.

Following the signal blazed from that hill, most of the Uniate clergy put their whole heart into procuring gun fodder for Hitler's depleted troop strength.

Sheptitsky looked on this unscruplous effort with a sympathetic eye. But when the division had to be supplied with mercenary chaplains, the enfeebled hand of Sheptitsky failed to give them his blessing. He was eagerly helped by Joseph Slipiy, the then Rector of the Uniate Seminary and future Metropolitan.

The pro-nazi activities of many Uniate priests was not limited to recruiting mercenaries. They also helped the nazis in hunting down young people for slave labor in Germany. They collected food and clothing for the nazi marauders. At the same time they maintained close contact with the UPA and rendered considerable assistance to the cutthroats whose hands, just like their masters', were gory with the blood of thousands of murdered women and children.

Suffice it to recall that of the 32 recruiting stations in Lviv Region, 15 were headed by Uniate priests. Naturally, they were simultaneously secret service centers of the bloody Bandera.

THE APPEAL

Sheptitsky's tragedy started the moment he realized that the Uniate Church, having become subservient to the universally hated nazi Germany and its nationalist agents, had lost every moral credit among the masses of people. The wicked jinn which the ambitious count had let loose so thoughtlessly, now threatened to swallow not only the fruits of his 50-odd years of work, but himself as well.

He knew by now that the days of nazi Germany were numbered, and the burden he had taken upon himself and his church on becoming Hitler's accomplice had to result in a catastrophe which the church would never survive just like its Berlin protector.

To tell the truth, there had been a time when Sheptitsky tried to set the *Führer's* twisted mind straight: he wrote pleading letters in which he urged for Germany's good that at least some Ukrainian Manchukuo be astablished for appearance's sake.

But Hitler was deaf to the pleas. He categorically forbade the nationalist rabble and their Uniate priests to come closer than his threshold.

The count became convinced that all his castles which it had taken so long and so much effort to build were no more than houses of cards. The union with German fascism not only did not bring him glory and control over the millions of souls in the East, but it had also ruined all the bridges across which he and his church could flee from the nazi plague-ridden island.

Sheptitsky knew of hundreds of thousands of guiltless people, including helpless infants, having been killed by the Gestapo and their nationalist henchmen. The aristocratic heart of the count could not bear the nauseating stench of burning human bodies in countless numbers being swept by the wind to the farthest corners of Lviv.

At the same time he learned of the unprecedented atrocities that had been perpetrated by the OUN and UPA — the Galician "lions of Alcazar," who, unlike the striking king of the desert, resembled more jackals and hyenas.

And so Sheptitsky tried to vindicate himself — if not before his contemporaries, then before history at least. He decided to save the remnants of the already dubious prestige of the Uniate Church.

More and more often the count reproved Bandera's men and ascertained publicly that "in many communities there are people whose souls and hands are stained with innocently spilled blood of fellow men." But, unfortunately, the person who had uttered these words could not or did not want to realize that these people were his students and the idea of misanthropy and "physical extermination of millions of human existences" he had promoted for so many years could not have yielded any other results.

In an epistle read out in late 1942, he went even farther. In it he quoted the following lines from David's *Psalms:*

"The wound of a murderer's soul stinketh and rots in his corpse that still lives and walks in the world. As he loved cursing, so let it come into him... Let his days be few; and let another take his office. Let his children be fatherless, and his wife a widow."

But the majority of the Uniate clergy, demoralized by their intercourse with the nazi Satan and the Bandera Beelzebub, did not want to heed the sensible words of their Metropolitan. The sick, enfeebled count had to acknowledge his ultimate defeat: his subordinates boycotted the synods he convened more and more overtly, and sabotaged ever boldly the instructions of the "vicar" of the Uniate Church who but recently had been so widely popular.

The end was drawing close.

THE LAST YEARS

The feeble Sheptitsky was lonesome. He didn't trust even his closest collaborators — Joseph Slipiy and Mikola Chernetsky, the administrator of the Uniate diocese in Lutsk,— though their careers had been furthered by the count.

In July 1944 the Red Army liberated Lviv. The patrons of the Uniate Church — the killers with the devilish nazi swastika as their symbol — made off to the West as fast as they could to meet their end.

Abandoned by all his prodigious sycophants of yesterday, the Metropolitan got down to some good thinking — and convened an extraordinary archieparchial synod. There he made a speech which was his swan song. He called the bloody atrocities of the Bandera gang by their true name and urged all those present to submit with loyalty to Soviet power.

However, given the knowledge of some of the Vatican's practices, Sheptitsky's song came abruptly to an end after this appeal, as should have been expected. He died under mysterious circumstances, which in many ways reminded the end of Ivan Naumovich.

The majority of the Uniate clergy did not take into consideration the parting words of their Metropolitan. Moreover, his successor Andriy Slipiy took care that the speech of the deceased did not reach the believers, and put it away in the archives of the Metropolitan's office.

Instead, a mysterious hand started to distribute in the churches a booklet signed with the initials C. J. S.

A sizable part of the Uniate clergy, loyal to the principle of their church fathers Potiy and Terletsky — "always against the people" — took an active part in the gory deeds of the Bandera cutthroats by supplying them with food, clothes and money, and hiding them from just punishment in parish buildings and churches and even within the walls of the Metropolitan's palace.

* * *

The Uniate Church was established 350 years ago in an atmosphere of treason. In this very same atmosphere it is dying today. The curse of its infamous past has followed it throughout its entire history, the curse of many generations of Ukrainian people hovers over it like an incommutable death sentence.

The Soviet state does not interfere in the religious feelings and convictions of its citizenry. By the Soviet Constitution,

they are guaranteed complete freedom of conscience. But freedom of conscience does not imply freedom to kill, plunder, and wreck. Those of the Uniate clergy who serve the fascist gods and continue the war against their own people are not priests. They are criminals wearing habits for the only reason that under them a knife is the better to hide.

The 350 years of the church union are 350 years of supreme suffering of the western branch of the Ukrainian people. It ended with the liberation of Western Ukraine by the Red Army and the establishment of Soviet power. Our land has ceased to be the object of sell-outs, intrigues, and fraud by foreign invaders, and never will it be the scene of pogroms of the Ukrainians unleashed by the Jesuits and their Uniate henchmen, nor will it ever witness the bloody terror to which the Uniate inquisitor Josaphat Kuntsevich had once subjected the people.

Tranks to Soviet power and the Soviet Constitution, the descendants of those who fought and suffered for the Orthodox faith have now unlimited opportunities to return to the religion of their ancestors. There is no such hostile force any more which could be capable of dividing the united Ukrainian people, and there is no such force which would hinder the Ukrainian believers from undoing the centuries-old injustices and violence against human conscience.

Papal Rome and its Uniate-Jesuit proxies have written their names in blood in the history book of our nation. By brutal terror and fraud they had forced our ancestors to embrace a foreign and loathsome faith which served the interests of our people's enemies. This was the Greek Catholic faith.

We have witnessed the death of the enemies of the Ukrainian people. And a similar, inevitable doom impends the child of these enemies — the church union.

It cannot be otherwise, because truth has triumphed in our Ukrainian land.

[1946]

WILL THEY SURVIVE THE FALL!

As is well known, no matter where a cat should happen to fall from, it always lands on all fours. This uncanny ability of the domesticated predator has made many a generation of ambitious politicians so envious of it as to rob them of their sleep. The chieftains of pro-German Ukrainian nationalism couldn't but envy this feline instinct for survival.

In recent years there have been all the grounds to believe that the nationalist cat would break its neck. And break it beyond any hope of survival. The most active Ukrainian group of Gestapo agents, the so-called Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), have associated themselves so closely with the German bandits, have been so zealous aiding the nazis in spying and sabotage in the rear of the Red Army — in the territory of Western Ukraine in particular — that the hatred the Ukrainian people have for the nazi Germans sooner or later would descend with twice the force on the heads of the nationalist Cains. They were aware of the danger and had to change their tactics without changing the foundation of the nationalist policy so as to continue to faithfully serve German imperialism.

The nationalists had had enough experience in matters of this nature: the Austrian *Kunzschaftschtelle,* the Polish *Defensywa* (secret police) and the German Gestapo had provided them with good schooling in sabotage and provocation.

In 1940 the OUN broke up: one of the bellwethers of the OUN, Stepan Bandera rebelled against the then OUN leader Andriy Melnyk and proclaimed himself *Führer* of the pro-German Ukrainian nationalists. The contention was: who was to play the bigger role in bringing about the realization of Hitler's plans of capturing Ukraine?

In their factional hassle, both sides spared no effort in flinging mud at each other. The Melnyk followers accused Bandera of provocations and embezzlements. In their turn, Bandera supporters made known facts which exposed the collaboration of Melnyk and his henchmen in the not so distant past with the Polish secret police. Besides, they candidly

hinted that it was among the Melnyk's followers that one should look for the murderers of Yevhen Konovalets.

When nazi Germany attacked the Soviet Union, the Hitlerites freely used the services both of the Bandera and Melnyk followers, as both these factions were rivals for being of a bigger help to the invaders.

Translated extracts from the interrogation record of Erwin Stolze, former chief of the *Abwehr*-Berlin department.

"...After the war with Poland was over, Germany intensified its preparations for war against the Soviet Union. That's why the *Abwehr* took measures to step up its subversive activities, as the operations we carried out earlier through Melnyk and other agents appeared to be insufficient. For this purpose we recruited S. Bandera, one of the OUN leaders. I don't remember who recruited him, but he was one of my agents.

"...In late 1938 or early 1939, a meeting was arranged for Lahousen with Melnyk who was then and there recruited and given a code name "Consul." He was recruited in my presence because he was to work for me. I must say that the recruiting went off smoothly as we had enough information on Melnyk's activities from our agent Konovalets.

"...During the occupation of Ukraine, Captain-Professor Koch from the *Abwehr* 2 reported to me from Lviv that he was using Metropolitan Sheptitsky actively in our work."

But it took only several weeks of German occupation of the Western Ukrainian lands to make the subordinates of Melnyk and Bandera bitterly disappointed.

Instead of the promised pie in the sky, the sons of the Berezhansk and Pidhaitsi *kurkuls* received regular punitive units which not only robbed their fathers of all their stocks of grain but made them buy grain to sow the fields of big landowners.

The nationalist sons of priests had hoped to make excellent careers through favors from the Gestapo, but instead of promotions they received summons to go to work as slaves on German landowners' estates. Instead of the promised "independent and single Ukraine," the nationalists in Galicia were given governor-generalship with such administrative bodies where even speaking Ukrainian is punished with a mighty punch on the nose.

The feeling of disillusion cut the ground from under Melnyk, Bandera and others of that ilk. It was necessary to change tactics as soon as possible, all the more so as some of the discontented OUN members began to pay Germans measure for measure. The role of the irreconcilable one was assumed by Bandera; Melnyk limited his influence to the older generation — nationalist dinosaurs who were too lazy to do anything outside the lackeys' room of the Governor-General.

Thus, one day the OUN supporters learnt that Bandera had gone underground. Leaflets, printed on pink paper, soon began to appear alleging that Bandera, this self-styled *Führer,* had declared war on the German invaders...

But this was a particular kind of war. To be more precise, it was a war without war. Perhaps, a partisan war? No, not that either. Bandera strongly disapproves of the armed struggle against Hitler. Bandera wants to preserve his cadres, no matter that Gestapo keeps shooting these cadres as sparrows. Mass executions of Bandera's subordinates in the jails of Berezhany, Pidhaitsi and Ternopil, and terrible tortures Bandera followers are subjected to in the Auschwitz concentration camp do not disturb Bandera in the least. He advises to his men to sit idle waiting for the appropriate moment, that is for the time when the German invaders would contrive to send the last Ukrainian to the gallows.

Bandera's trouble is that the Ukrainian people saw in time through the fascist agents provocateurs. While Bandera calls for passivity and Melnyk helps the invaders lead Hutsul (highlander) boys to slaughter, the destiny of Ukraine is being decided by its true master — it is being decided by those who have written on their banners: "Either Freedom or Serfdom."

The Red Partisans have only one road to take: the same road that is followed by the Red Army, accompanied by the roar of thousands of guns — the road of victory and glory. The Ukrainian nationalists are a stumbling block on this road. But the people who have found the strength to destroy thousands of German tanks will find it easy enough to hack the nationalist block to pieces.

[1943]

BEFORE THE THROES OF DEATH

At the end of April, an event occurred in Lviv, which is worth bringing to attention as it signifies a symptom of the approaching collapse of nazi Germany.

Hitler gave his permission to set up the so-called Galician Ukrainian Organization, says *Krakauer Zeitung* in its issue of April 29. At the same time, the Hitlerite Governor of Galicia Wächter made Galician Ukrainians "happy" by announcing that the Germans were to form the SS Infantry Division Halichina (Waffen SS Division "Galizien"). According to Wächter, this division is to be made up of "volunteers from the Galician Ukrainian youth, and in this way it will pledge itself to maintaining the old traditions of combat camaraderie that once closely united their ancestors in the ranks of the Austrian Army."

Now, what are the Galician Ukrainian Organization and the SS Division Halichina? We know that immediately after invading Ukrainian Galicia, Hitler disbanded all non-German political organizations there, even those for which serving German imperialism was the principal law. And then, all of a sudden the very same Hitler tries to revive the child he strangled with his own hands two years previously.

Inconsistency? No. He wants to do it because he is in trouble. Or rather, it's much worse than trouble. He is desperate.

Two years ago, Hitler was sure he would conquer all the Soviet peoples in several weeks, the Ukrainian people included. That is why all this farce with petty indulgences did not seem to him worth the trouble. He did not spare even his faithful minions from the pro-German Ukrainian nationalist camp. Instead of the promised Ukrainian Manchukuo he showed them the door, which, more often than not, led to the nearest concentration camp or prison.

But, as is well known, Hitler's plans of conquest have fallen through. The Soviet Union has turned out to be too hard a nut for him to crack. The march of the German troops into the Soviet land turned into a march into graves.

In such a desperate situation, Hitler began to frantically

search for a way out, and attempts to use whatever he can get from the political dump of Ukrainian Galicia. From this dump the Galician Ukrainian Organization and the SS Division Halichina have been extracted with his blessing.

There is not the slightest doubt that these newly born Hitlerite monstrosities will be unfit to live long. Where will they find support for their doomed master? Among peasants? But Galician peasants, who not so long ago kept away from the Germans as from a plague, now hate them worse than a plague. Among industrial workers? But Galician workers are only waiting for a signal to start taking vengeance on the nazis. Among the intellectuals? Let them try!

Hitler's base in Ukrainian Galicia has now shrunk to a few square feet which would accommodate only a handful of German officials of Ukrainian descent, a small band of those who have sold their own consciences, a meager number of people who helped the Hungarian military and secret service, at the time of the Austrian domination, hang thousands of the Galician peasants and intellectuals, and at present help the Gestapo hang the new generation of Galicians. They are the people from the band of Melnyk, a long-time German spy and a former Austrian officer. You'll easily recognize them by their narrow foreheads, by the malicious look in their shameless eyes, and by their pot bellies full of rotten Munich beer which they have earned as a prize for their betrayal of the Ukrainian people.

It is they who make declarations on behalf of the Galician Ukrainian Organization, it is they who make up the committee for drafting soldiers for the SS Infantry Division. They have thrown in their lot with that of the German governors, with all those Franks and Wächters. For them, as well as for their masters, there is no way back from the dead end of ignominy and crime. They want to drag the young people of Galicia into their division, or rather those of the young people who have been lucky so far to avoid being dispatched to nazi Germany for slave labor. These young people, the way they, the traitors, see it, must save Hitler at a time when the huge nazi war machine is falling apart to bury him under its ruins.

How ludicrous the invaders' buffonery around this SS

Opposite. In 1941 Yevhen Pobihushchiy commanded the *Abwehr* Battalion Roland. Its uniform, largely patterned on that of the counterrevolutionary Ukrainian Galician Army, emphasized the fact that the battalion was a sabotage unit.

Above right. 1943: now a regiment commander of the SS Division Halichina Pobihushchiy wears no disguise — he is in the uniform of an SS *Obersturmführer*.

After World War II Pobihushchiy found refuge in West Germany where he went to serve the US occupation authorities. He was the commander of the Ukrainian Security Company at the US Army and an instructor at a spy school whose students were later sent into the territory of the USSR. Until recently he was a teacher in the Banderite Union of Ukrainian Youth (SUM) and the honorary head of the Catholic organization Ukrainian Christian Movement.

In May 1944 the SS Division Halichina was inspected by its "supreme commander", SS *Reichsführer* Heinrich Himmler.
Speaking before the officers, Himmler emphasized that the SS Division Halichina had nothing to do with Ukraine because Galicia had allegedly "belonged

to the Reich for 150 years"
and the nazis were managing
that land in their own way.
Praising the results of that
management, he said that
Galicia "became even better
because it lost, so to say,
on our initiative,
those inhabitants who often
sullied Galicia's good name,
namely Jews."
Sending this SS division off
to the front, Himmler demanded
that its officers and men
should obey orders and be
loyal to the *Führer*.

Overleaf. The dominant nazi swastika above "the division's emblem... displays the three Austrian crowns of the time of Maria Theresa.
That same Archduchess of Austria who allowed the Ukrainian peasants of Galicia to be exploited by the Polish nobles, the same "Theresia" who suppressed every manifestation of Ukrainian cultural life in Ukrainian Galicia...
The SS Infantry Division Halichina has been steeped in ignominy from the very first day of its existence."
— Yaroslav Halan.
Before the Throes of Death.

Division Halichina look! The Germans seek to lure the Ukrainian youth by "the old traditions of camaraderie of their ancestors in the ranks of the Austrian Army," that very same army which marked the closing years of its existence with taking thirty thousand Ukrainian lives right there, on the territory of Galicia... They want to soften the hatred that the Ukrainian youth has for the nazi German invaders with what would you think? — the division's emblem which displays the three Austrian crowns of the time of Maria Theresa. That same Archduchess of Austria who allowed the Ukrainian peasants of Galicia to be exploited by the nobles, the same "Theresia" who suppressed every manifestation of Ukrainian cultural life in Ukrainian Galicia.

In 1848, the Austrian-German authorities set up a Ukrainian battalion in Lviv to suppress the Hungarian revolution. The battalion did not shame itself as it fired not a single bullet. The SS Infantry Division Halichina is steeped in ignominy from the very first day of its existence. This ignominy will always be with it, until the last of its mercenaries gets three bullets from the Ukrainian people. One bullet for each of the crowns of Maria Theresa.

[1943]

BANDERA'S BACKGROUND

In 1929 the so-called Ukrainian Military Organization (UVO) was reorganized by its leader Colonel Konovalets into the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN). It united the most reactionary, the most pro-fascist elements in the service of German counterintelligence who did everything they were told to do by Berlin.

These agents of German imperialism were most active on the territory of Western Ukraine where they then had a social and economic base. German, and later Polish counterintelligence put two major tasks before them: to send spies and sabo-

teurs to the Ukrainian SSR, and at the same time, using demagogic pseudo-revolutionary slogans, to distract the working people of Western Ukraine from the truly revolutionary liberation movement, and paralyze their striving for reunification with Soviet Ukraine.

One of the chieftains of the OUN was Stepan Bandera. In 1938, after the death of Konovalets who was murdered by his own subordinates, bitter wrangling began in the camp of pro-German nationalists over who would succeed Konovalets. There were two pretenders: Bandera and Andriy Melnyk, the steward of Count Sheptitsky's estate. Melnyk got the upper hand, but it did not cool other ambitious nationalist petty leaders. Bandera and his supporters exposed Melnyk and his closest associates Senik, Sushka and Yaroslav Baranovsky as agents provocateurs of the Polish secret service. In retaliation, the Melnyk crowd accused Bandera and his followers of the same thing.

Further events showed that both factions were birds of a feather. What is more, in connection with the trial of the nationalist agent provocateur Roman Baranovsky, it came to light that Konovalets himself had been in the service of not only the German but also the Polish police, and as an agent provocateur visited Warsaw in 1938, precisely at the time a Polish court was hearing the case of his subordinates in Sambor.

Shortly before nazi Germany treacherously attacked the Soviet Union, the Melnyk and Bandera followers contended with one another for being of a greater use to the nazis. They engaged in spying in the rear of the Red Army, they killed Western Ukrainian activists — workers, peasants and intellectuals, and in the first days of the war treacherously shot Soviet soldiers from behind.

After the nazis occupied Ukraine, the duped supporters of the OUN very soon realized that the Germans not only were not going to give the nationalists any political concessions, but did not recognize Ukraine as a state and the Ukrainians as a nation with all the rights that are due to a sovereign people. They realized that both Melnyk and Bandera, with their policies, had helped the Germans lay a yoke of terrible slavery on the Ukrainian people's neck.

The little influence that Melnyk, Bandera and others of that ilk had in Western Ukraine began to melt as snow does in the hot sun. As far as Eastern Ukraine is concerned, they have never had any influence there, and, for that matter, could never have had any.

The nazi invaders became concerned about such a state of affairs. They realized that without help from the nationalist agents provocateurs they would not be able to split the unified anti-German front of all the Ukrainians without exception. So, the Hitlerites came out with the following trick: they allowed Melnyk to continue openly in the service of Berlin, and told Bandera to feign an enemy of the nazis so that he,

"...The Melnyk and Bandera followers contended with one another for being of a greater use to the nazis. They engaged in spying in the rear of the Red Army, they killed Western Ukrainian activists — workers, peasants and intellectuals..."
— Yaroslav Halan. *Bandera's Background.*
Opposite top. The OUN bandits killed with axes the whole family ot Pokotilo, Chairman of a village Soviet: Pokotilo himself, his wife and his seven children. Doctors saved only Pelageya Pokotilo, who was found mutilated but alive.
Opposite bottom. Barbed wire which the nationalist bandits used to tie up the hands of their victims. A photograph from exhumation materials.

using the cover of antinazi phraseology, would work to divert the Ukrainian masses from the true, uncompromising struggle with the nazi invaders, from the struggle for freedom and happiness of Ukraine.

Now Bandera and his followers obediently follow the instructions of their German masters. In words they pretend to be against the nazis, but in their deeds they are trying so hard to knock the weapons out of the hands of the Ukrainian people. At a time when all our people are rising to fight the nazi enemy, Bandera and the likes of him call upon the people to passively wait, so that the nazis could, without any hindrance, continue dispatching to Germany millions of our people for slave labor, and continue plundering Ukraine of its riches. At a time when the Ukrainian partisans, by their blows on the enemy, bring the day of victory of Ukraine closer, Bandera and his henchmen call upon the Ukrainians to fight... the partisans. At a time when nazi Germany is tottering under the blows of the Allied Nations, Bandera and his pack are doing their utmost to undermine the Ukrainian people's faith in the durability of the Anglo-Soviet-American alliance.

It would be a mistake to underestimate the danger from Bandera and his clique. To fight them means to fight the agents of the enemy. Using the undercover support of German authorities, Bandera's followers are doing their dirty work in Ukraine, sowing among the people the poisoned seeds of scepticism and treachery. That is why it is necessary to expose them and make it hot for them, very hot indeed.

As far as those Ukrainians who have been duped by the pro-German Ukrainian nationalist agents provocateurs are concerned, the duty of all the Ukrainian patriots is to persuade them that today there is only one way for every honest Ukrainian: the way of unremitting struggle with the nazi invaders and their nationalist agents.

It is the way of uncompromising struggle with all the enemies of Ukraine, the way followed by the Red Army, the way followed by the Red Partisans.

[1943]

AT THE BOTTOM

In the early fall of 1937, the prisoners of St. Brigid Prison * could observe an interesting scene from behind bars. Every morning, a 20-year-old fair-haired girl appeared in the jail courtyard where the prisoners took their walks. Coquettishly swinging her hips, she moved with vigorous strides around the circumference of a circle in the center of which stood a sentry. She walked with her head proudly thrown back and a flower between her teeth. When the walk was over, the blond would suddenly grow weak, stick the flower into her hair, and would walk back to her cell with the gait of a dying swan.

First, the prisoners felt sympathy for the golden-haired Carmen; they were moved by her youth, beautiful looks and loneliness. Before long, however, they met each of her appearances with such piercing whistles that the sentries had to cover their ears. As it turned out, this "golden cloud," as she was called among the prisoners, had been the head of a gang of Ukrainian nationalists which burst one night into the hut of the peasant Biletsky from the Rava Ruska area and chopped off his head with an ax right before the eyes of his wife and children.

Why? Simply because Biletsky had been an adherent of the Communist Party.

As it was to be expected, the Polish law court treated this butcheress, who had the eyes of St. Theresa, very condescendingly. The point is that she was guilty of nothing more than the murder of a peasant. The nationalist Lady Macbeth's crime saved minister Skladowski's police from taking any action themselves, so why punish her severely?

Six years have passed since then, and the "golden cloud" dissolved in the black cloud of the German invasion. But the bloodstained ax has remained as a symbol and a weapon for the "associates" of the sadist in a skirt. Released from Dmitro

* St. Brigid Prison — building of the former St. Brigid Convent.

Dontsov's incubator, the nationalist homunculi made the butcher's ax (not Dontsov's "knife in the teeth of a steppe cutthroat" or Petlura's trident) into their symbol.

Like anything else the Ukrainian nazis have been provided with, this ax is of a German pattern: it is very much like the one with which Himmler cuts off the heads of his political adversaries...

It is already the second year that the Volhynian land has been bleeding with torrents of hot human blood. It is already the second year that the local young girls have been turning gray from what happens there. At dawn, the bands of the Ukrainian nazis, armed to the teeth, encircle Polish villages, set the buildings on fire and violently slash with axes all those who try to escape from the flames. They do it with diligence and zeal so as not a single soul could escape the horrible massacre.

And not only Polish villages are attacked. Thousands of Ukrainian peasants suspected of sympathizing with the partisans or the Red Army have died in the bloodstained claws of the yellow-blue nazis. The entire population of a village neighboring Rozhishchi, eight hundred people in all, were massacred by the Ukrainian nazis in the course of a single night.

Why? What were they to blame for? It would have been useless to put these questions to the Banderites or to their rivals the Bulbites. These questions could have only been answered by the Gestapo, the only genuine inspirer of their deeds.

Massacring the Polish and Ukrainian population in Volhynia with one hand, the Ukrainian nazis, at the same time, scatter leaflets with the other, wherein each word begins with a capital letter and almost each line contains the words "independent Ukraine."

What kind of "independence," the devil take it, are these thugs gibbering about if they themselves have never been independent in their acts of their Berlin sovereigns? The black list of their heinous crimes does not contain anything which had not been agreed on in advance with the German security service if only... if only the Germans had not been outstripped by the Polish secret political police, the so-called *Defensywa*. When they got the chance, the Melnykite wing, all the Seniks, Vanyukhs, Shukheviches and Baranovskys,

did not hesitate to send their long-standing leader, Yevhen Konovalets, to the next world when he, for unknown reasons, got in the Gestapo's bad books.

Melnyk's rivals, the Banderites, speak about this in their "bulletins" much too perspicuously.

The creatures, who organized their adherents into a subversive vanguard of the Hitlerite army in the memorable days of June and July, 1941, speak profusely about "independence," realizing only too well, at least by the experience of 1918, that the purpose of the Germans' arrival in Ukraine is the same as that of a robber bursting into a food-filled larder, or a wolf into a sheepfold. Their hypocritical declaration of "independence" during the first days of war was nothing more than a dull and demagogic trick which had been devised to save the shameful reputation of these dealers in human conscience. The reputation which, incidentally, was burried once and for all under the ruins of Ukrainian cities and villages bombed by the Hitlerite planes.

It would have been the same if a swine had declared itself independent without leaving its master's pigsty...

The nationalist leaders have splendidly adjusted themselves to the heavy German yoke and have begun to pull the Hitlerite cart with the gracefulness of an asthmatic jade. Lviv Metropolitan, Count Sheptitsky, Bandera's and Ruban's well-known patron, degenerated to such an extent while trying to oblige the Germans that in the summer of 1942 — a fact unheard of before in the history of the Uniate Church — he called on the priests to perform Mass on high days and holidays at seven o'clock in the evening so as "not to distract the peasants from their work of providing the German army with bread..."

It seemed to some people at that time that the Germans had reduced the role of the Ukrainian nazis to that of a gelded

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Overleaf. Reburying Soviet people, victims of the OUN terrorists.

ass which was living out the rest of its days in quiet and modest service of its Berlin master. It seemed to some people that this was the lowest and that there existed no deeper depths of moral degradation. But the events that ensued showed that it only appeared to be so...

Already in spring, 1942, the German administration in the Ukraine was very anxious about the local population's sentiments. Something had to be done, for if the German troops were defeated on the battlefield, the anti-German movement could very well take the shape of a national uprising. And the German experts in ersatz invented a new kind of ersatz, putting the Ukrainian nationalists in charge of its manufacture.

To begin with, by signal from Berlin, the distribution of duties was held. While the Melnykite Khraplivy arranged a "harvest festival" in the vicinity of Lviv, to which he invited the German district leader and landowner von der Leien, ordering the peasants to sing his praises, the Banderite Ruban was receiving weapons and paper from the Germans for... anti-German leaflets.

Having armed his bands, Ruban transferred them to less densely populated Volhynia where thick forests were to hide the major part of his machinations. A bloody comedy commenced. Throwing anti-German slogans about, Ruban, as well as Borovets-Bulba, tried to evoke the peasants' sympathies for themselves. It is common knowledge, however, that inactivity can sometimes demoralize even armies, to say nothing of a band. So Ruban and Bulba came to realize that they had to give their subordinates some sort of dirty work to do, any substitute for fighting. But not the Germans, God forbid! When asked: "Why don't you fight the Germans?" they answered: "We are saving our forces for a final blow," that is exactly as their Polish comrades in arms under the general Sosnkowski answered. Birds of a feather flock together...

They got down to work while their submachine guns rested; these were completely replaced by sharply ground axes from under which blood spurted rather than fell in drops. At first it was mainly Polish blood. But why Polish?

First, because the Ukrainian peasants still remembered the punitive expeditions staged by the Polish *voivode* Józefski,

This photo was made
by a Gestapo man, Hans Krüger,
before the execution of a group
of Jews at the village
of Potichky, Ivano-Frankivsk
Region,
October 1941. Posing before his
chief's camera while pulling
an old man by his beard
is Olexa Levandovsky,
an OUN and Gestapo man.
After the war Levandovsky fled
to Canada together with his
brothers who served in the
Ukrainian collaborative police.

and a demagogue could make it seem that the Polish peasants were responsible for these expeditions as well...

Second, because the Hitlerite plan does not envisage the extermination of non-Germans at one go. No, first the least numerous, therefore, the weakest peoples were sent to the slaughter house — the Gypsies were followed by the Jews, and the Poles, Czechs and Ukrainians were next in turn.

Third, because blood once shed cannot be easily erased from people's memories. The Germans reckoned and continue to reckon that this blood would give birth to hatred between the two peoples, a kind of hatred which would dim their memories and make them forget about their common deadly enemy.

It might have seemed that the Ukrainian nazis would give up their bloody trade when they saw that their German boss was drawing to his end. But nothing of the kind.

Let us listen to what the Hitlerites themselves say about it. Their agency *Transozean* reported on January 24 of this year: "The nationalist-minded Ukrainian 'partisans,' impressed by the advance of the Soviet troops, collaborate with the German military and civil authorities."

The point is as follows: those nazi "partisans" believe that history repeats itself, like it did in 1918. They are aware that after Germany's defeat no one on earth, but the very same Germany, would grant them refuge. They hope that one day they'll find themselves needed there and only there, just as they were needed on that morning of June, 1941. They are aware that the nationalist snakes would be able to grow and multiply only there, in the dismal shadows of the Prussian ax.

But we know something different. We know that the Red Army will knock the ax out of the hands of the German butcher. We know that if history repeats itself this time again, it will take the form of a farce or, to be more precise, a tragifarce rather than an opera; a tragifarce in which the bloodthirsty nazi Carmen will die from the very same ax with which she chopped the heads of her defenseless victims.

There exist no deeper depths of moral degradation. The harlot found herself at the very bottom.

[1944]

A DOCUMENT OF MEANNESS AND STUPIDITY

It has long been known that the German Satan and the Ukrainian nationalist witch are in love with each other. The fact that the Berlin lover often puts his dove on hunger rations and keeps her on a leash does not surprise anyone: such is the law of the fascist jungles.

From time to time, however, he lets her loose for his own needs. In the nomenclature of the Berlin Ministry of Propaganda such a period is called "the period of close German-Ukrainian collaboration." Last spring we witnessed such a period. The acutely felt hunger for reserves after the rout at Stalingrad made Hitler search for cannon fodder in our land, in Galicia. By his order, the governor of the Galician district, Wächter, reported on April 28 that the SS Infantry Division Halichina *(Grenadieren Waffen SS Division "Galizien")* had been formed.

The Galician yellow-blue whom the Germans had long been using for minor favors and as a reserve, for instance in the Oświęcim (Auschwitz) concentration camp, were now given yet another chance to find themselves wanted by their whimsical boss. They were allowed to enter recruiting commissions and to wear *Unteroffizier* uniforms, they were ordered to force Ukrainian peasants into the newly-formed janissarian "army."

To hasten the formation of the "division," Governor Wächter sent a considerable number of German servicemen on a mission who were to use their eloquency to influence the Galician Ukrainians to join the "division" as "volunteers." When this proved futile, Wächter changed his tactics: he started to man the "division" with "volunteers" brought to the recruiting commissions by... gendarmes.

In March 1944, after the SS Division Halichina met with the same fate as other German divisions which were destroyed half way between Proskuriv and Zalishchiky, an interesting document fell into our hands: governor Wächter's instructions for the recruiting "orators." Thanks to the panic-stricken

"The acutely felt
hunger for reserves after
the rout of his troops
at Stalingrad made Hitler search
for cannon fodder in our land,
in Galicia." — Yaroslav Halan.
A Document of Meanness and Stupidity.
On July 18, 1943 a parade was held of the SS Division Halichina "volunteers" before they were sent to their training camps.

The future SS men demonstrated their loyalty to their fascist masters. The division was reviewed by SS *Brigadeführer* and Governor of Galicia Otto Wächter accompanied by smaller *Führers* and *Leiters* of the Nazi Party, army, police, and their lackeys from "assistance committees" and other nationalist profascist organizations.

Remains of victims of the OUN-UPA bandits, revealed in a well in the village of Pidzamche, Chervonoarmiysk District, Rovno Region.

flight of the district commandant of the town of Horodenka, we have an opportunity to become acquainted with a document which once again discloses not only the cynical devices of Hitlerite propaganda and the role played by pro-German Ukrainian nationalists, but also Berlin's plans for the western lands of Ukraine.

Here it is (we are not responsible for the style):

"Secret.

Governorship General	Lviv, April 20, 1943
Galicia	Secret!
District Governor	
104/43.	
District commandants	2 copies
City of Lviv Commandant	2 copies
District and city commissars	1 copy
Security police and guard service commander	30 copies

"This concerns guidelines for recruiting commissions' speakers. Along with these I also send guidelines for speakers of the recruiting commissions of the SS Division Halichina. Members of military commissions and their representatives in regions and districts should become acquainted with them as well.

"These guidelines should be looked upon as an approximate basis for what I consider to be an appropriate argument for recruitment today. As far as details are concerned, the speakers, naturally, have the right to design their own speeches, but the main points of these guidelines must be preserved.

"I believe, in particular:

"Any suggestion of fraternization between the Germans and the Ukrainians should be excluded from the speeches.

"The impression that we need assistance from the Ukrainians must not be made.

"The Ukrainians should not be regarded as allies. The only thing which can be mentioned is that the Ukrainians will be treated exactly as the German soldiers are.

"Any statements, both in the positive and negative sense, referring to the Galician Ukrainians' desire to obtain state independence or to their great-Ukrainian aspirations should be avoided. Even if it's appropriate in a particular situation it should be made clear that the realization of the Galician

Ukrainians' political wishes will be taken into account only as a result and not a prerequisite of the formation of a new military unit.

"As a matter of course you should avoid everything which would enable the listener to realize that we regard Galicia as our property with which we can do as we please. It must be specially stressed that we regard Galicia as the homeland of the Galician Ukrainians. Therefore, referring to the questions of colonization must be avoided.

"You should also avoid obtrusively degrading Bolshevism, Soviets and the Russians. It should be taken into account that the local population has had its own experience regarding Soviets, which has not been completely unfavorable. At the same time you should clearly and objectively show the shortcomings and errors of Bolshevism.

"As for the Poles, you should only say that they, unlike the Ukrainians, have not yet realized that it is their responsibility as Europeans to fight Bolshevism. This should be emphasized so as to gratify the 'Ukrainian ambition.' The Poles must not be railed at on any account.

"Ukrainian members of the recruiting commissions are not entitled to become acquainted with this document. After learning its contents, destroy it at once."

* * *

The leitmotif itself of the governor's instructions is rather characteristic: "should be avoided." To begin with, Wächter proposed to avoid "any suggestion" of fraternization between the Germans and Ukrainians. Apparently the governor did not mean Ukrainians in general, for our people had dispelled all illusions of their possibly "fraternizing" with the German invaders at the very outset of the war. No, Wächter was worried about something different. He was somewhat afraid that his agents, in a state of oratorical excitement, would come to the point of uttering something which would entitle the Melnykites and Banderites to hobnob with the "nation of masters." A myrmidon must know his place — behind the door.

Wächter advised not to make the impression that the nazis needed assistance from the myrmidons. The very thought

that the Ukrainian nationalist small fry may come to have too high an opinion of themselves and perhaps even consider themselves to be allies threw the highly skilled German governor the invader into a fever.

In return, he proposed that the recruits be promised that they'd be "treated exactly as the German soldiers are."

What it means is well known: *Habt acht!, Halt's Maul!, Kehrt euch!, Vorwärts!* * and finally *Rast!* (in English meaning "rest") in... a common grave. Indeed, Governor Wächter promised his "Eastern Tyrolese" quite a lot.

In his next point, the German hangman reached the summit of political art. It's more than obvious that his teacher was Adolf Hitler himself. Above all — make no statements! Should it have happened, however, that Galician nationalists reminded one of Wächter's orators of Germany's promises to establish an "independent" Ukraine, the governor recommended to reply as follows: first form a division, die for us, and then... then we shall discuss it. What good luck for Wächter that his stupidity met with an adequate partner personified by the Galician nationalist blockhead! Otherwise his orators would have returned from their missions, at best, with their legs broken.

Furthermore, Wächter suggested that his agents should hold their tongues and not tell the listeners that Berlin considered Galicia as one of its estates. This advice is rather interesting in view of the fact that on August 1, 1941, before the battles of Moscow and Stalingrad, Governor-General Frank made the statement that the "law of the *Führer* will be the superior law" in Galicia for all time.

The advice was interesting but belated because in the spring of 1943 everyone, even the most slow-witted Galician ignoramus, knew from his own experience that the Germans conducted themselves in the Ukraine's western regions like bloodthirsty invaders.

The same could be said about Wächter's fear of the disclosure of Hitler's intentions to populate Galicia with Germans. On the day when Wächter's instructions appeared, the question of colonization almost ceased to exist because at that time

* Attention! Shut up! About face! Forward! (Ger.).

most of the applicants for the title of colonist were already rotting in the steppes of the Ukraine, and the same lot awaited the rest...

No less interesting is the guideline where the German governor spoke about the failure of anti-Soviet propaganda and made it unequivocally clear that a "Bolshevist scarecrow" could be used as a means of frightening people only in the localities which had not seen the Red Army and Soviet power. True, he had it his way trying to make his orators find "shortcomings and errors" in the Soviet system, though he himself did not know what to call them nor did he even make an attempt to "prove" their existence.

Lately, Wächter seems to have forgotten about his instructions and, together with the rest of the governor's toadies, has launched a wide-scale anti-Soviet campaign in the Ukraine's occupied regions. But what else could the poor thing do if even the SS Division Halichina had failed to save Hitler's armies from defeat and Governor Wächter from having to flee from Lviv.

In his instructions Wächter did not forget about the Poles either. This time, he didn't advise to spit on them too much. The governor simply proposed to please the "Ukrainian ambition" at their expense.

Not long ago, a pregnant German woman died suddenly for unknown reasons in a Kraków theater. The next day Gestapo men sought out 100 (a hundred!) pregnant Polish women in the city and executed them all in the course of 24 hours. At the same time, Lviv's governor did not allow anyone to "rail at" the Poles...

Refugees from Lviv relate the following story. One evening, a mysterious hand knocked at a well-known Ukrainian doctor's window. When the doctor showed himself in the window, a shot resounded. Within several days a similar drama took place: this time the victim was a Polish doctor. Wächter's agents instantly spread the rumor that the first one had been killed by Poles and the second by Ukrainians, in spite of the fact that the police failed to catch anyone.

They didn't catch anyone because they would have had to put Wächter himself behind bars, that very same Wächter who feels so embarrassed when one speaks ill of the Poles...

Wächter has not been imprisoned but he will be. He will sit side by side not only with Frank, Rosenberg, Koch, Hitler and many others, but also with his myrmidons. There will be enough room for them all in the dock.

It will be the only chance for the pro-German Ukrainian nationalists to find themselves sharing equal rights with their German bosses, sharing rights and responsibility for the sea of human blood they shed.

[1944]

THE DOOMED

After the absolute defeat of Germany, Himmler's death was yet another blow to the yellow-blue nazis.

Their classic, their idol, the owner of their thoughts and the inspirer of their deeds, a person whose name was closely linked with the history of pro-German Ukrainian nationalism over the last ten years disappeared from the face of the earth.

Bandera and the Banderites had good reason to cry. The day of our victory, the 9th of May, was an unlucky day for them. Fascist Berlin, their Mecca, was totally defeated. Their disposition center, the intelligence department of the German General Staff, scattered in all directions and now its officers have to use the methods of disguise which they taught their Banderite fosterlings not long ago. And, finally, potassium cyanide was found in the stomach of Himmler himself. There was good reason to turn gray.

Himmler committed suicide after he was caught. Until then he went around in make up, feigning a blind man with two guides who were in fact his aides-de-camp from the Gestapo. While disguising himself, Himmler did not waste time: up to the very moment of his arrest he frantically mounted a new variant of Gestapo, a new organization of fascist murderers called *Werwolf*. *

* Werewolf (Ger.) — a fascist underground terrorist organization active in frontier areas of Germany and Poland during the first postwar years.

Even in their hopeless situation, the Banderite ringleaders try to follow in the footsteps of their snuffed-out boss. Banderism, in fact a sort of *Ostwerwolf,* wants to live and to act in spite of its complete ideological and political defeat. And it continues to commit crimes.

On thundery summer nights, the Banderite snakes creep out of their caves. Nothing is sacred to them. They slaughter both adults and babies with the same delight. In their sadism, they can rival the hangmen of Maidanek and Oświęcim. The reader should not ask about the reasons for these murders: what harm could a six-month-old baby do the cutthroats? What revenge did they seek when they cut out his bowels? It was simply a heinous crime. A violent, fascist crime with which they want to scare the civilian population, to paralyze their will to work and live a creative life.

Drunk with the smell of human blood, these spongers hide themselves in their holes. When they feel hungry they go to the village. A German-made submachine gun put up against the temple of a peasant and they have a supply of provisions. They take whatever they can lay their hands on: horses, cows, pigs, clothes, pillows, rugs, clocks, watches, money and jewelry.

Provocation is yet another one of their weapons. They lie, hound, intimidate.

The days of the Banderite pack are numbered. They are doomed. However, they don't want to reconcile themselves to this fact. Having completely failed, the Banderite ringleaders still go on trying to carry out their loathsome deeds in hopes that this will give them some chance.

But their hopes are vain. The year 1945 is not 1918 or 1941. Himmler realized it at the last moment and poisoned himself. But the Banderite curs are not willing to accept the fact that their end is near.

The war period in Europe is over. Our people are beginning a peaceful industrious life. It is not to the liking of the Banderite snakes. They strive to hinder our progress towards a bright, prosperous and civilized life. But their calculations are wrong.

The Banderite snakes shall be crushed!

[1945]

BETRAYERS AND THE BETRAYED

On August 1, 1941, Frank arrived in Lviv to tell its residents what he thought was good news: the fifth district under governorship general in the Galician land had been formed. After the ceremonies of renaming Shashkevich Street into *Odeonstraße* and the Third of May Street into *Polizeistraße* were over, Frank delivered a speech whose content is clear from the words that follow: "My task is to make the *Führer's* will the superior law in this land."

As it turned out before long, the will of the *Führer* in this land was, above all, to fundamentally embroil Ukrainians with Poles. The old Austrian recipe "divide and rule" was now to make it easier for Hitler to devour this restless territory.

The moment that Galician Governor Lasch settled in Lviv, a highly trained apparatus for intrigues and big and small provocations was set going. Little nazi "Machiavelli"-Lasch felt he was in his element. First he made it possible for the nationalists from the OUN, both Melnykites and Banderites, to have a good brawl. When these "maximalists," who had grown bald in the German service, stretched out their paws for a pittance for the marauding they had performed *pour le roi de Prusse,* * Lasch gave them the fig. Incidentally, the very fact of the separation of Eastern Galicia from the rest of Ukraine was to tell the nationalists that the nazis had never thought of any sort of political concessions for the henchmen of Petlura and Konovalets.

Black ingratitude shown by the Hitlerites apparently made Ukrainian nationalists get liver desease. The Melnykites stood this blow relatively easily: the older generation of nationalists is already advanced in years and much too experienced to set their Berlin benefactor against themselves only because of a slap or spit in the face. So, with composure deserving

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* *Pour le roi de Prusse* (Fr.) — lit. for the King of Prussia, i. e. for nothing.

surprise, they let themselves be powdered with naphthalene and heaped in the dark corners of the so-called Ukrainian Central Committee (there is such a committee) until Hitler considered it necessary to pull them out into the daylight.

Somewhat younger and more influential Banderites took a slightly different road. Incidentally, the change in Stepan Bandera's tactics rather than position was stipulated by reports from the Berezhany and Pidhaitsi districts where the OUN's slogans had the greatest number of adherents. Rich peasants from Podolia quickly ascertained that Bandera had made fools of them. Instead of German semigods promised by Bandera, who were supposedly to bring fairy tale fortunes in their knapsacks, they saw the insatiable and vociferous dirty scum which burst into larders and storehouses, robbing the last bushels of grain from barns, the last cow from cattle sheds, and the last pig from pigsties.

Disappointment was much too great, and the loss of illusions much too painful, so before the Banderite ringleaders made up their mind to change tactics, their subordinates started breaking the German invaders' spines here and there. The Hitlerites replied with mass reprisals.

Resentment amongst the nationalist lower stratum grew stronger with every minute, the word "German" began to sound almost like a curse. Bandera decided to save the situation. One fine morning, this agent provocateur announced to everyone without exception (naturally not without the Gestapo's consent) that his organization resolved to start fighting against their German protectors.

The Hitlerites, however, saved the situation in their own way. Taking advantage of the frightful unemployment among the Polish intelligentsia, they cast the hook precisely for them. Such establishments as the *Arbeitsamt,* * the railroad guard, the tax department, and apartment house management served as the bait. In this way, the Polish employees at the German *"Amts"* ** were to become a sort of lightning rod to attract the charge of the Ukrainians' hatred for Germans.

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* *Arbeitsamt* (Ger.) — labor exchange which used forced labor in the occupied territories.

** *Amt* (Ger.) — office.

Yevhen Bilas,
former police commandant
in the town of Truskavets,
posing on November 13, 1943
over the body of a woman
he had killed near the church.
After the war he found refuge
in Canada where he used the
gold he had plundered to open
a restaurant.

The Hitlerite maneuver half succeeded. Most of the Polish intellectuals behaved with dignity replying to the ill-intended deeds of nazi agents provocateurs with contempt and courageously dealing with the reprisals which incessantly fell on the Polish patriots and their families. The dregs of society, spies from the *Defensywa,* magistracy machinators, *semperfidelists* * from the fourth brigade who had been fed on the poisoned milk of the ONR, houseowners from under the banner of Grabik and cutthroats from the *Falanga* — this entire gang rushed at top speed to the first call from the nazis to avail themselves of the opportunity and started to obliterate the evil seed of the rebels with a truly barbarous cruelty.

Similar tactics of treachery were used by the Germans in Volhynia. There, the Poles were to become sacrificial sheep on the altar of Prussian perfidy. The posts of state farmstead managers, tax collectors, and directors of distilleries attracted more than one of former Governor Józefski's supporters. However, the core of the Polish population here, like in Galicia, offered much resistance to Hitlerite temptations. What was more, the Polish population began to reinforce the ranks of partisans more and more actively, and in the winter of 1942-1943, the Volhynian forests served as a base for sorties for well-armed detachments which fought under the white-and-red banner for "our and your freedom."

Fierce battles, which often ended in the total destruction of entire German garrisons, tempered the solidarity of the Polish and Ukrainian peoples, and their blood they shed strengthened their friendship.

The Germans felt alarm, their plans came patently to naught. After the Stalingrad catastrophe, the situation deteriorated even more. The invaders felt as diffident in the Ukraine as they did in Poland. They were especially anxious about the masses' sympathies for the partisans, which grew stronger every day.

The *Reichskommissar* of Volhynia and Podolia, Schöne, was the first to hit upon an idea. In the small town of Bistritsya, his agents dug up a certain Taras Borovets, who

* *Semperfidelist* — always loyal, from the Latin *semper fidelis.*

On August 1, 1941 the military criminal Hans Frank declared in Lviv the annexation of Galicia to the nazi occupied territory called *Generalgouvernement*. He said in particular: "My task is to make the *Führer's* will the superior law in this land." Yaroslav Halan mentioned it in his pamphlet *Betrayers and the*

Betrayed. The traitors who went to serve in the collaborative profascist Ukrainian police fell over backwards to translate "the *Führer's* will" into gory deeds.
Opposite and above. This is what the nazi new order brought to the Soviet people.

had a business as a tombstone maker. After a few secret talks (with the Germans), Borovets decided to replace his stone cupids with live devils armed by the local German commandant's office. Calling himself Taras Bulba, he declared a crusade against the partisans and... the Poles.

The partisans were not harmed very much. In the very first skirmishes with them, the Bulbites got such a box on the ear that they preferred to shun the formidable enemy after that. The defenseless Polish population, however, suffered severely. The Bulbite cutthroats surrounded Polish villages at night, tortured their inhabitants, stole whatever they could, and set buildings on fire.

The next day after a massacre, German reporters appeared among the smoldering ruins and hurriedly took pictures of the victims who had been tortured to death. Some time later, the German press would feature these pictures accompanying them with an eloquent caption: "The Polish population slaughtered by partisans."

There was no doubt about what this disgusting provocation was aimed at. It was intended to dig an abyss between the Poles and the Ukrainian partisans. Apart from that, according to Goebbels' schemes, it was to play the same role as Khatin.*

This time, however, the Germans' efforts proved to be futile as well. After the first wave of panic which caused a number of Polish families to flee beyond the Bug River, the Poles pulled themselves together. The slander in the Hitlerite newspapers proved to be fruitless, just like the miserable fables from the radio station *Svit* (The World) which, deceiving its listeners, made the Bulbite butchers into irreproachable knights. The only thing which the bloody Hitlerite venture led to was the immense growth of comparatively small Polish partisan detachments which caused anxiety among the German military circles.

In the spring of 1943, the Hitlerites tried their luck yet another time in Galicia. Borovets' mission (alias Bulba) was

* *Khatin* — a place of mass execution of Polish POW's by the nazis, near Smolensk. The nazi propaganda ascribed the crime to the Soviet Army to bring about disagreement between the Soviet Union and the other powers of the anti-Hitlerite coalition.

to be carried out by Melnyk who had been pulled out from the archives.

In contrast to the previous time, there now began a mass campaign of firing Poles from their posts and replacing them with Ukrainians from the circles of Melnyk supporters. The nationalist rabble were preparing themselves for the night of long daggers. It seemed that after the extermination of Jews it was the Polish population's turn.

However, it soon turned out that the Melnykites' calculations were rash. This time the Germans concerned themselves with something different. The recruitment of the OUN blockheads to work against the Poles was only supposed to reveal the forces which Hitler needed for totally different projects... Which namely — the Melnykites came to know from Governor Wächter who on April 28 made a public announcement about the formation of the voluntary SS Infantry Division Halichina.

The underlings lost self-confidence, especially since the division's formation occurred at a time when the inevitable defeat of Hitler was obvious even to the blind. But what one wouldn't do for bread...

It took several days to drag the entire Galician cabinet of waxworks with the former Austrian general, the feeble old man Kurmanovich at its head, out into the open under the spring sun. The streets of the Galician towns saw the first officers from the division wearing German uniforms and *sichoviks'* * caps with the emblem of the three kaiser crowns of Maria Theresa instead of the trident.

Very soon they made sure that their fears for their own skin were not substantiated for the time being. The Germans at least did not count on this rather stale cannon fodder. What the Hitlerites needed was a driver and the nationalists suited the purpose splendidly.

And then it began. The land from which the nazis had managed to take almost one third of its adult population (four hundred thousand) to work in Germany, and where hundreds of thousands of innocent people had been slaughtered

* *Sichovik* — member of a Ukrainian bourgeois-nationalist military formation in 1917-1920.

with perfect impunity was now to be hurled into a fratricidal war in the interests of its deadly enemy.

With the help of the recruiting commissions staffed with Melnykite dirty scum, the Hitlerites drove tens of thousands of Ukrainian peasants — those luckless "volunteers" — to the barracks under compulsion.

The nazis triumphed, while Brown von Stumme, painting a rosy picture, described the enthusiasm of the mobilized Hutsuls at his press conferences in Berlin. However, this enthusiasm was evidently not very sincere since a considerable part of the mobilized "volunteers" slipped away to the forests the very moment they received weapons, the forests which have now turned into a cover and fortress for partisan detachments sowing death among the nazis.

The OUN members do not have any reason to rejoice either. On the 11th of May, in one of Lviv's streets, an anonymous malefactor assassinated Yaroslav Baranovsky, the brother of the well-known agent provocateur Roman Baranovsky. According to reports in the Hitlerite press, it was the third victim snatched from amongst Melnyk's closest companions over a short period of time.

The funeral was attended by the highest dignitaries of the district, those dandyish traitors who buried Baranovsky's dead body along with the rest of their faith in the omnipotence of meanness, a meanness the world had never heard of before.

Together with the censers' smoke of St. George's Cathedral and the smell of traitors' blood, the vapors of national hatred which have tortured our unfortunate land for years are being dispelled. Joint torment and joint struggle will complete what some people considered a miracle only yesterday. The miracle of the Ukrainian-Polish fraternity born during the days of a great historical storm, the days of great battles for freedom for whose sake it is really "well worth living and well worth dying."

[1943]

A GENERAL TRIAL

On a hot summer day in 1943, the governor of the fifth district Wächter held the first review of the SS Division Halichina at the Kolomiya market place. On the cathedral bell tower an orchestra was playing in a dull and pitiful manner like the bell on the neck of a cow which had lost its way in the mountains. Substitutes for the bells requisitioned by the same Wächter were jingling away. The Hutsuls dressed off-handedly in German uniforms were followed by their wives who were trotting after them and whose laments and weeping spoilt the atmosphere the local authorities had managed to set up with much difficulty.

A few hours later, the German Information Bureau presented a detailed description of the review to the whole world which was to be a testimony of the Ukrainian peasants' adherence to Hitler's idea of a "New Europe." * It is only natural that the bureau didn't mention anything of the fact that the peasants in question were those who had failed to run away to the forest in time and thereby couldn't evade being mobilized into the ranks of the "black division."

At approximately the same time, in the Podolia town of Skalat, a review was held which simply cried out to be featured on the front page of the *Völkischer Beobachter*. However, neither *OKW-Bericht* ** nor Herr Brown von Stumme with his elastic mouth mentioned anything about it.

It was to be regretted, however, since this review, compared to the dismal comedy in Kolomiya, was of a much greater importance to the Hitlerites, at least as far as its consequences were concerned.

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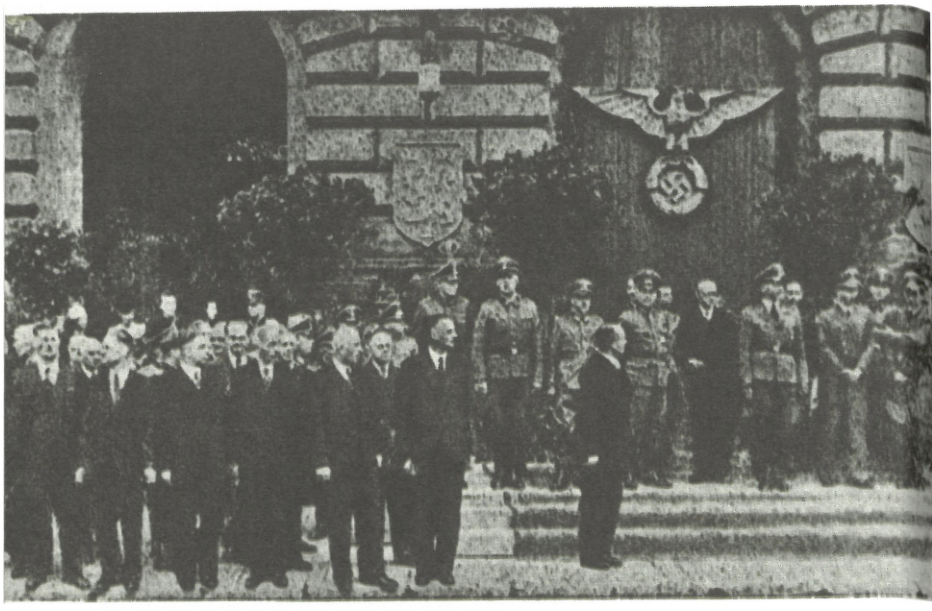
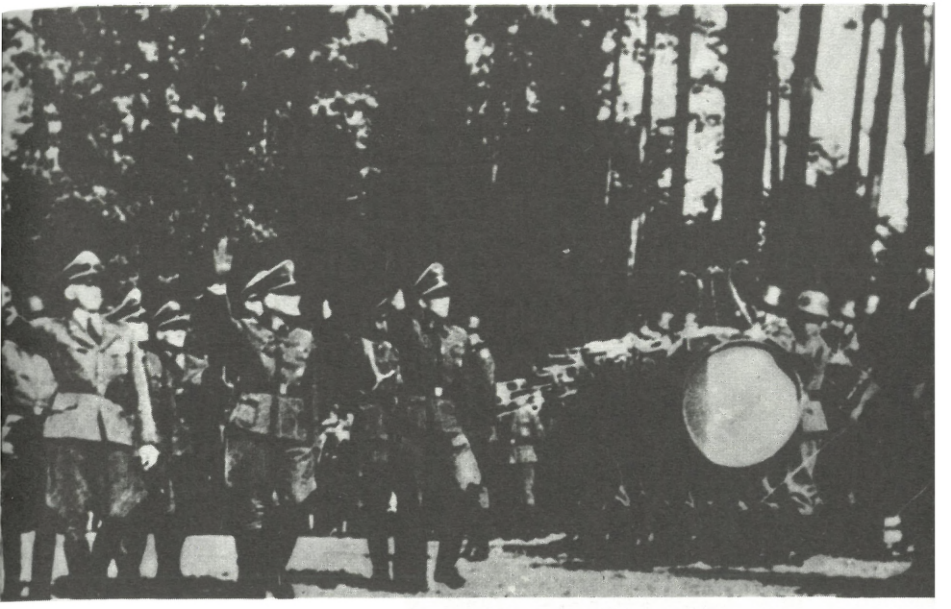
* Reference to the so-called *Ostplan* the main objective of which was to colonize Eastern Europe, to exterminate 120 to 140 million Poles, Byelorussians, Russians, Ukrainians, Czechs and representatives of other nationalities. The rest of them were to be moved over to West Siberia, Northern Caucasus, South America and Africa.

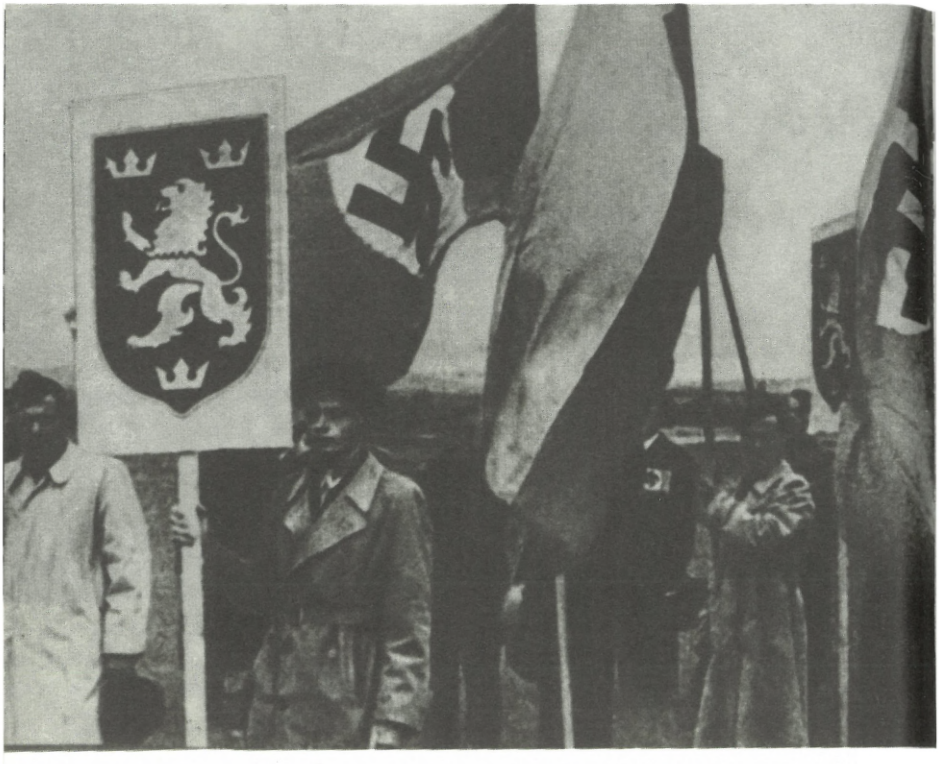
** *OKW-Bericht* (Ger.) — situation report of the Supreme Command of the Armed Forces.



SS *Brigadeführer*
Otto Wächter, *Abwehr* Colonel
Alfred Bizanz with
his subordinates, members of
the SS Division Halichina
military board,
and Wolodymyr Kubijowytsch,
chairman of the Ukrainian
Central Committee,
"seeing off" the future SS
men going to their training
camps, Lviv, July 18, 1943.



SS Brigadeführer
and Governor of Galicia
Otto Wächter with Fritz Freitag,
commander of the SS
Division Halichina, after the
division had taken an oath
of allegiance to Hitler, 1943.



Above. The future SS men from the SS Division Halichina demonstrating their readiness to fight and die under the fascist banners.
Opposite. A group of nationalists marching past SS *Brigadeführer* Wächter and other SS *Führers* before going to the training camps of the SS Division Halichina, July 18, 1943.

The residents of Skalat, who at that time were some 1,000 kilometers away from the front lines, were very surprised when machine guns began to suddenly rattle away in the streets and artillery shells began to whistle over roof tops. A few minutes later, Skalat's inhabitants witnessed a show they'd never seen before. Hitler's soldiers, policemen, gendarmes and Skalat's *Sonderführer* himself, both in and out of uniform, were running for all they were worth in search of shelter in vegetable gardens, threshing barns and toilets.

Before long the source of the commotion became apparent. Ukrainian partisans had entered Skalat. Along the town's main street marched detachment after detachment and people in civilian clothing wearing caps with red ribbons across them. The infantrymen clattered with their weapons trying

to keep up with the dashing cavalry, and the field guns rumbled threateningly up the cobblestone road.

It was like a bolt from the blue for the Germans. In the territory which seemed to have been thoroughly cleared by the hordes of *Schutzdienst,* * there suddenly emerged a real army which made the German garrisons flee like a mob.

The entire managerial staff of the district was alarmed when news of this reached them. A motorized column set off in the direction of Skalat, but it was too late. The partisans had vanished into thin air and the corpses of nazi soldiers alone, scattered densely among the burdocks, showed that the avengers' path had crossed these parts, a glorious yet thorny path across the tortured and devastated land bristled with German bayonets. *Messerschmitts* ** were taking part in the pursuit; each move made by the partisan detachment was covered by reconnaissance planes. Shortly after, the partisans' way to the southeast was blocked by German companies brought together from various towns. Though pitiful was their lot.

The trapping pocket, thoroughly prepared by the Hitlerites, was ripped open by the partisan's bayonets so thoroughly that there were not enough coffins for the nazis who fell.

In a bravura attack, the partisans forced a crossing over the Dniester. Soon the fighting shifted to the Hutsul land. The banner of freedom went up to flutter over Rafailove, and torchlights blazed up over the oil wells of Bytkiv. The trenches overgrown with weeds since 1914—1917 now filled up with armed people again. The partisans were two kilometers away from the Hungarian border, two Magyar detachments had been sent by the regent Horthy against the cohort of the brave. From morning till night dozens of *Junkers* *** kept hanging over Pohur Hill, destroying its slopes. Now the pocket was being patched jointly by the Magyars and the Hitlerite regiments.

This time, however, the pocket burst as well. And it burst at the least expected place. Before the Germans had enough

* *Schutzdienst* (Ger.) — security service.

** *Messerschmitt* (Ger.) — a pursuit plane.

*** *Junkers* (Ger.) — a kind of dive-bomber.

time to collect themselves, the major partisan forces showed up at the rear of the enemy and cut off the Stanislav-Budapest railroad.

The Germans were infuriated. In the meantime, the elusive enemy rushed like the wind into the villages of Tatariv and Yaremcha, and, after blowing up all the bridges spanning the mountain valley of the Prut River with Kolomiya and Stanislav, encircled Dilyatin.

The partisan vanguard took up positions on Karatul Kosmatsky and on Nyadzhin Hill which is half way between Bereziv Nizhniy and Klyuchovy near Kolomiya.

The Kolomiya review sank into oblivion and the "Galician formation" disappeared into the unknown. Now along the road leading to Verbizh and Pechenizhin marched not the luckless mercenaries of Wächter but the most faithful Wächters of Hitler himself: Prussian SS crack units trained in fighting partisans. In the heat of August, with heads wrapped up in assault helmets and outstripped by a swarm of bombers, the Hitlerite riffraff advanced in a forced march towards the mountains carrying with them a death warrant for a handful of fearless people.

Twenty four hours later, the expedition's advanced unit had no idea that by cutting off the Oslava-Dilyatin road they had cut their own life line. All of a sudden grasshoppers' music was overpowered by the symphony of heavy machine guns and mortars. Hiding under cover, the partisans triggered off the battle of Dilyatin and... completed it.

Five hundred and two nazi soldiers bid farewell to life, and more than two thousand wounded filled up Kolomiya's hospitals. The way back, the road to the Volhynian forests was open for the partisans. It was a road which ran across unmown fields of corn rotting in the autumn rain, through the villages whose young people had been exterminated and which were reminiscent of burial grounds, through fear-paralyzed settlements frozen by the memories of the dreadful massacres of Jews.

On September 16, the German governor of Galicia bragged of yet another Galician-Ukrainian invention of his. This time, however, he was much more modest. He chose to hold a review of new recruits in a Lviv theater this time instead of a large

Abwehr Colonel
Alfred Bizanz (center),
the main recruiting agent of
the SS Division Halichina and
chairman of the division's
military board, 1943.
Standing by a uniformed officer
is *sotnik* Osip Navrotsky,
chief of the division's military
board office. After the war he
found refuge in Winnipeg,
Canada.

square. With the hubbub of foul words and the noise of a hired orchestra, Wächter intended to muffle the cannon thunder of an army advancing from the East. Rushing about the stage was the German Bizanz, an expert in Viennese cheese, and at the same time commander of the SS men serving under the colors of Hitler and Maria Theresa. He was the wretched offspring of a family of Lviv restaurant owners. Bizanz implored and appealed, Bizanz uttered promises and threats, Bizanz brandished a batch of banknotes symbolizing Judas' pieces of silver. The audience responded with dead silence. Bizanz was speaking to dying out lamps.

Almost the very same day, the German authorities of neighboring Kremenets ordered that all the young people of the town should gather at the market place. The meeting was announced semi-officially. Those provident enough did not follow the order, those less circumspect were surrounded by SS men and led in the direction of the railroad station. There any trace of them was lost.

Sooner or later the same fate will overtake the "Tyrolese from the East," those SS men from an improbable story.

Silence filled the valley of the Prut River again. In the graves strewn densely over the land of Galicia sleep partisans from the legion of the fearless, * intrepid sons of the land of Taras Shevchenko. Their heroic deed, young though its history is, has grown into a legend, into a song woven from the "most quiet" words which are equally dear to Ukrainians and Poles. Because both Ukrainians and Poles treated the avengers of their disasters with equal love in those memorable days of July and August.

Today, the time has not yet come to describe in detail the heroic partisan raid. But this description will ring out so much the louder on Victory Day, on the day of a grand parade of those who will bring freedom on their armed shoulders and who will transform the suffering territory into a blessed land.

[1943]

* Partisan formation under Sidir Kovpak (1887-1967), twice Hero of the Soviet Union.

IN THE OCCUPIED LVIV

In 1941 the nazis burst into Lviv and became its masters and tormentors. They shot people by groups of 50-100 persons. Having taken an active part in social life was reason enough for being executed. Concurrently, the Hitlerites organized horrible Jewish pogroms, and in doing so they robbed whatever they could.

When the slaughter was over, they brought the corpses of their victims together to the Houssman covered passage and staged a spectacle there unique in its own way. The spectacle was served by Goebbels' officials. Shortly after, the filmed remains of the corpses were shown on the screens of Germany and occupied Europe under the fabricated heading: "The victims of Bolshevist Terrorism in Lviv."

Subordinates of Melnyk and Bandera, two inveterate rivals and ringleaders of the so-called Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), bent over backwards to help the nazis with that bloody work. In fact these ideological brothers have never ceased to be zealous executors of Gestapo orders. In the first months of Soviet power, the OUN members sat quiet as mice trying to evade the authorities' attention by squeaking in a lackey-like manner "Long live!". However, as war drew nearer, the OUNites grew more and more saucy. Now sabotage and shooting on the sly became their weapons.

But it was the outbreak of the war that revealed to the full what these dogs were capable of. Infinitely believing in the omnipotence of their nazi patrons, they lay themselves out to get in their masters' good books. Aware of the approaching fascist hordes, they climbed to the garrets and bell towers and therefrom started disorderly shooting, sowing death among casual passers-by. Caught with the help of the public and Red Army soldiers they whined for clemency and pardon.

After the nazis invaded Lviv, one could observe civilians with yellow-blue stripes on their sleeves fawning upon SS men. Incidentally, they were none other than the Polonized OUN scum, a creature born of the Galician political mustiness, a disgrace to the Ukrainian people. Very soon, however,

the OUN men had a chance to make sure that in place of the Ukrainian Machukuo and mandarin jobs * they had been promised, Germany had only one thing in store for them: a hard kick in the back. The occupiers set about propagating their own customs in the city. To begin with they laid their paws on the supplies left behind. Most of the goods were sent to Germany straight away, but a part of them fell into the hands of nazi officers and soldiers who, as a matter of fact, showed themselves to be expert speculators. Having ravaged shops and stores, they set to the problem of housing. After chaotic requisitions during the first weeks of occupation, there came the period of a "planned settling of the population." One day the residents of Lviv's most comfortable and largest southern section were ordered to vacate their flats and give them over to the occupiers, along with their furniture and they had to be in an undamaged state at that. Jews were to settle in a ghetto set up in the city's northern section.

Shortly afterwards, Hitler joined the Lviv, Drohobich, Stanislav and Ternopil regions to the principal province of Poland *(Generalgouvernement)*. Why did he do that? It is to be supposed that, above all, he was guided by a desire to embroil the Poles with the Ukrainians. Besides, by breaking up the Ukrainian people, he meant to reduce their resistance to the occupiers. And, finally, the joining of Eastern Galicia to the gloomy kingdom of Frank was brought about to enable the hungry occupiers to digest this territory of great strategic and economic importance (oil deposits).

Before long, Governor-General Frank paid a visit to Lviv to see his new colonial possessions for himself. He was welcomed by a bunch of Ukrainian and Polish renegades. Goebbels' hirelings had a group of Graeco-Catholic clergymen put before a camera. The photographs were put up in the Leipzig illustrated gazette and other illustrated newspapers of occupied Europe as well. They were accompanied by the heading: "Polish priests in Kraków do honor to German Governor-General."

* Contextual meaning: mercenary, servile posts.

"...Governor-General Frank paid a visit to Lviv to see his new colonial possessions for himself. He was welcomed by a bunch of Ukrainian and Polish renegades."
— Yaroslav Halan.
In the Occupied Lviv.

Among them was Joseph Slipiy (right), a Graeco-Catholic bishop (cardinal in the postwar years).

After Frank's departure, the occupation authorities without delay began to Germanize the city. Above all, this found its reflection in the names of the streets. Hitler got one, and Goering another. Even Sheptitsky Street was not spared despite the fact that the metropolitan had never shown any sign of ill will towards fascism. It was given the name of *Kernstraße.*

Then they got their hands on the schools. When almost all Ukrainian and Polish general schools were abolished, the nazis decided to make Lvivites happy by opening one Ukrainian vocational school and trade-improvement courses for... engineers.

Meanwhile, the number of German schools increased. In the middle of last year, there were 27 such schools in the Lviv region alone (excluding the city itself). Lviv radio transmits hoarsely in German almost all day long, broadcasting the state program from Berlin. Book stores and libraries which are few in number are filled with Goebbels' pulp literature of which 99 per cent is in German. Bulletin boards are also in German, rarely in German and Ukrainian.

The best cafes and restaurants have been placed exclusively at the disposal of the nazis, only they have access to the movie theater on Legions' Street. The theater of German drama functions specially for them, just as the operetta theater and the variety show. The latter enjoys the greatest popularity. There Viennese girls from *demimonde* whimper a fashionable sentimental song about a soldier and a girl standing under a street light, and late at night they sweeten their partners' lives, gathering a certain sum of money as a "winter assistance."

After a passionate and transient flirtation with the Ukrainian nationalists who had at first been given a certain number of posts in the presidium of the town council and in the police force, the Germans took the city's government into their own hands. As a result the scoundrel Karmazin does not twaddle as much as he did before, the traitor Panchishin withdrew into political oblivion, and the pro-fascist Ukrainian riffraff began to play the traditional role of police confidants. A German took the post of the city's *burgomaster,* a German became the rector of the Agricultural Academy of Dublyany, a German headed the central post office.

The Hitlerites continue to use the method of stirring up antagonisms and national hatred so as to make it easier for themselves to fish in the muddy waters of chauvinism. They do it awkwardly and boorishly. So far they have failed to catch anyone with the exception of a handful of venal creatures who represent nothing and no one.

Then, as the history of Ukrainian nationalism shows us, the occupiers incited against themselves even the greatest part of those who had faithfully served German imperialism up to the recent past. No sooner had Bandera announced the declaration on June 30, 1941, babbling something about the Ukrainian protectorate, and no sooner had Sheptitsky put his signature to it, than Bandera was sent off to Berlin and Sheptitsky was put under house arrest. There was literally nothing left from the nationalist ringleaders' "dreams about the sword." After the nazis invaded Lviv, nationalist saboteurs were obliged to lay down their arms before the Gestapo. Shortly afterwards, an order was issued forbidding the Galician Ukrainians to travel beyond the Zbruch River. All of the parties and groupings were disbanded. In their place, the Hitlerites graciously allowed to set up in some localities the so-called Self-Assistance Committees whose tasks were rather briefly described by Field Marshal von Runstedt when he gave instructions to the German administration: "The activities of the Self-Assistance Committees must consist in their close collaboration with the German military authorities."

Most of the Lviv yellow-blue ringleaders found themselves far away from Ukraine. Some of them loaf on Berlin streets, others grow musty in Kraków, calling on the Ukrainian nation on the pages of the *Wiadomosci Krakowskie* (News from Kraków) to preserve peace in order not to "make new enemies." Even the lawyer Shukhevich, a confidential agent of the Gestapo, has retired from the stage. The board of Lviv Writers' Union consists of obscure swaggering persons. Loitering about the city lecture halls is the figure of the Lviv comic, a certain Tsurkovsky who produces archamusing odes in honor of his former patron Studinsky.

In January of this year, the German Information Bureau triumphantly announced to the world that representatives of the Ukrainian Assistance Committee took the oath of allegiance

to Governor-General Frank. True, they decided to mention the name of Kubijowytsch alone. This individual, a geographer by profession, was known back before the war as the one who filled in the gaps in his erudition with German Marks.

The flower of Lviv's progressive-minded intelligentsia was put behind the barbed wire of concentration camps. The death of Bartel and Boy Żeleński (who were arrested the day after the city's invasion) was just the next link in a chain of the Hitlerites' crimes. People leave their homes and don't return in the evening, and any trace of them is lost in the dark.

Tens of thousands of Lviv residents have been taken to Germany to work as slaves. First they were told that they'd work near Lviv on the construction of the Berlin-Odessa highway. But when the mobilized flocked at the railroad station, they were encircled by a police detachment and then jostled into the carriages. Last autumn the Hitlerites started a mass extermination of Jews. The number of tortured to death has reached the point of several tens of thousands.

A famine is raging through the city. Potato peel soup is an adornment on the table today. The daily bread ration fluctuates between 100 and 200 grams which is in effect almost nothing.

But in spite of all this, Lviv, the city of heroic battles of 1936, has not bent and does not surrender to the superior forces of the nazi invaders. Almost from the very outset of the city's invasion, an implacable struggle against the invaders has been waged within the city walls. It seems that a whole battalion could have been formed out of the nazi officers shot dead in Lviv.

Side by side with the Ukrainians, the Poles play an important role in the liberation movement. The Lviv partisans maintain close ties with the partisans of the Ukraine's eastern regions.

The occupation authorities reveal complete impotence in fighting the partisans. For the purpose of intimidating the freedom fighters, the nazis stage public shows at which they burn captured partisans. With special sadism they torture girls. There have been instances when they were hung by their feet, or a fire was made beneath them. However, these methods have kindled a flame in the hearts of Lviv residents

Above. Fascism. Nationalism. "Their methods were also similar. Tens of thousands of tortured to death and crucified women and children..., such was the dreadful illustration of those methods."
— Yaroslav Halan.
Along the Roads of Treason.

Opposite. These photos, seized at the Gestapo headquarters, show Soviet people hanged by the nazis from balconies on Zholtovska Street and on Bazarna Square in Lviv.

rather than intimidated them, a flame which will sooner or later reduce the dreadful structure of Hitlerite bondage to ashes.

Bleeding, trampled and yet proud, unsubdued and ever alive, the city of Lviv awaits the day of liberation. And it waits not sitting idle but by waging a bloody and uncompromising struggle. And it is gaining the upper hand in this struggle.

[1943]

PEOPLE FROM THE LVIV GHETTO

At the time when I was an evacuee on the far-off Volga, evacuees from Kiev, Kharkiv, Moscow asked me: "Any news about Müntzer?"

But there was nothing that I could tell them. I learnt of Müntzer's fate only when I returned to the liberated Lviv, and now I can tell them that he is with us no more.

This short humpbacked Jew with a tremendous shock of hair was the pride of Lviv. And not only of Lviv — of all the country. When Müntzer would begin to play the piano, his flying fingers became one with the keys, envoking Bach and Beethoven, Chopin and Liszt in your heart, and you knew you were in the presence of immortal beauty.

But Müntzer is with us no more, and will never be. The nazis arrested him for "spying" because his son lived in England. They repeatedly beat this small man unconscious, they spat into his face, and after humiliating him in every possible way, they shaved his head and set him free — but with the yellow badge on his sleeve.

A little later Müntzer disappeared, this time never to appear again.

Yakiv Mund was less known; he had stayed in Lviv for years without leaving the city. During the day he taught at the music conservatory, and in the evening he conducted the

orchestra at the Opera House, and later at night he wrote songs; these songs then were sung all over Lviv.

All the Jews of the city, and Mund among them, were herded by the nazis into the ghetto where as many as 20 people were forced to live in a room of 20 square meters. There was no running water, no money to buy bread; filth and lice were destroying the doomed Jews' will to live and their human dignity. But Mund, amidst all these abominations, was writing a symphony.

He knew that his days were numbered, that he would not escape the tragic fate of so many of his people. That is why Mund worked in the terrible conditions of the ghetto as he had never worked before. This man, forced to dying a slow death, was writing a testament — a hymn to the all-conquering life — in the language of music.

One day Gestapo men came and took Mund to the Yaniv death camp. In the camp, Mund and the other best musicians of Lviv were forced to play fiery Argentinian tangos while column after column of prisoners were marched off to execution.

Mund was one of the last to die, and his unfinished symphony died together with him.

A few months before the war began, Alter Katsizna seemed to have grown ten years younger. Those who had known him from the time when he lived in Warsaw, were surprised to see this armchair writer turn before their very eyes into quite a different person after he had moved to Soviet Lviv. It was a memorable occasion to observe this man, already advanced in years, before the microphone, addressing rallies with so much youthful vigor. Katsizna knew no rest. Poems, short stories, essays flew out from under his pen. He found time to complete a new play "A Jew's Opera." The play was to be staged by Mikhoels, * and other theaters requested the right to stage it too. Katsizna was in seventh heaven. I saw his hands tremble with joy as he showed me the contract he had just signed.

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* Mikhoels, Solomon (real name Vovsi, 1890-1948) — Soviet actor and theater director.

Above. The fascist killers forced an orchestra imprisoned at the Yaniv Concentration Camp and conducted by the Lviv Opera House conductor and composer Yakiv Mund to play a specially composed "Death Tango" to which the nazis tortured and executed the other prisoners. Later the Germans shot dead all the musicians.

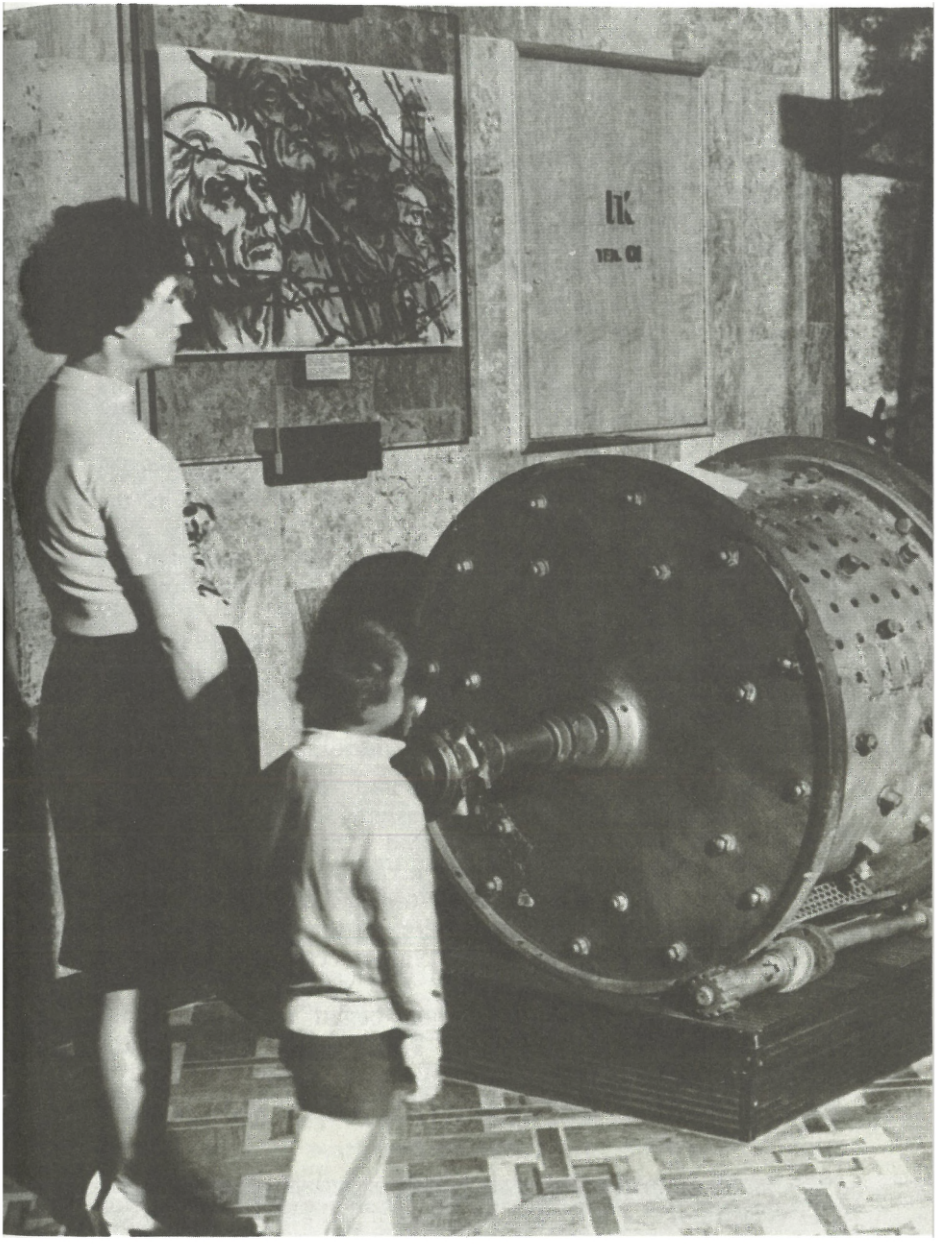
Opposite. Corpses of Soviet people shot by the nazis at the Jewish cemetery in Lviv. The photo was seized at the Gestapo headquarters in Lviv.

But then came the black Sunday of June 22. Several days later trains stopped running; the roads leading east were subjected to constant air attacks and sabotaged by German paratroopers. Katsizna knew about it, and yet decided, no matter what, to follow those who had opened before him the way to creative immortality.

He left Lviv with his 18-year-old daughter. In the vicinity of Ternopil they were stopped by Bandera's bandits. Hitting the old man and the girl with the buts of their rifles, the bandits brought them into the yard in front of a prison. Katsizna was made to watch his daughter being clubbed to death before his own life was taken.

Almost all the Jewish writers from Lviv met the same fate. None of them came out to greet us on the joyful days in July of 1944 when the Soviet Army entered Lviv. The wonder-

Above. Kitchen utensils and household things taken by the nazi killers from a concentration camp prisoners before their execution.
Opposite. A horrible invention of the fascist criminals — a bone crusher which was used for further destruction of the burnt corpses of the Yaniv Concentration Camp prisoners.
Courtesy Ukrainian State Museum of the History of the Great Patriotic War of 1941—1945, Kiev.



ful satirist Perle, the brilliant poet Weber, the translator of *Pan Tadeusz* * Königsberg — none of them has survived. Neither can I forget another one of my friends, poet Shudrikh. This experienced member of the underground knew how to fight and he would die only the death of a soldier. At the time when Hitlerites began to take truckloads of people stripped of all their clothing to the Lisinichsky Forest to be executed there, Shudrikh became one of the founders of the underground antifascist Resistance organization.

But one morning Shudrikh was met by a group of Gestapo men who were after him. He greeted them with a long burst of automatic fire from his submachine gun. He died in glory.

The suffering of the Jewish population in occupied Lviv is beyond description. For many of them cyanide was the only escape from the horrors of this earthly hell. There were countless cases when men had to poison their own brothers and mothers, their own children — to save them from unbearable suffering.

A young associate professor from the Medical Institute and his old father were hidden by the professor's colleagues in a recess under the sloping floor of an Institute's auditorium. It was thought to be the only safe place to hide them in.

During lectures, father and son had to keep very quiet, hardly daring to breathe. Days passed, spring ripened into summer only to give way to fall and winter, but they never left their hiding place, never saw a ray of sunshine. The old man went blind, and later insane. Now he did not pay attention to his son's entreaties to keep quiet, as the old man, having lost his senses, failed to realize the necessity of observing all possible precautions.

Sure enough, the students soon began to hear strange noises coming from underneath. The younger man realized that in a day or two they would be discovered. And it would mean not only their death, but also of those who had

* *Sir Thaddeus* (1824) — poem by the great Polish poet Adam Mickiewicz (1798-1855).

helped to hide them. There was nothing left to do but to use cyanide.

So the young man cut the corpse of his father into pieces and his colleagues smuggled the pieces out of the building under the cover of the night.

The ghetto of Lviv is now scorched ruins. Our attention is drawn to a building badly damaged by fire. Here and there among the debris rusting legs of hospital beds can be seen.

It was a hospital for typhus patients. When it was literally packed with the sick, Hitlerites locked all the doors from the outside, hosed the walls and the roof with gasoline, and set fire to the building. Everyone inside — the sick and the hospital staff — were burnt alive.

Some distance away there is another building ruined by fire; we can see the twisted railing of a balcony on the second floor. This is where a young woman with her two little children lived. Her exceptional beauty did not pass unnoticed by the nazi murderers. After their insistent advances had brought no results, SS men, infuriated by the woman's resistance, flung her on the bed and with a chair's leg lacerated her insides.

They were not even distracted by the terrible cries of the horror-stricken children.

In the summer of 1943 the last cries of the burning people had died down. There was only one building left yet untouched by fire in the ghetto, situated at the crossing of Lokietek and Pid Dubom Streets. About 200 people — those who were determined to die fighting — barricaded themselves in the house.

They had several rifles and a few old pistols, but in spite of having so few arms, they offered a stiff resistance: gunfire was heard all over the city from morning till night. At least 20 dead Hitlerites lay sprawled on the cobblestones in front of the building before the last of the courageous lot shot himself through the heart with his last remaining bullet.

The soil of Lviv is soaked with the blood of hundreds of thousands of murdered people. Here the blood of Jews has commixed with the blood of Ukrainians and Poles, thus uniting the three peoples in a brotherhood of common martyr-

dom and of common undying hatred for the nazi killers.

Hitlerite brutes tortured to death a Jewess who was the last orchestra harp player in Lviv, in the belief that no more melodies would ever be heard in this city of music.

And again they miscalculated. The harp will not lie abandoned for long: new musicians will raise it and its strings once again will resound. It will be the music of Victory, the music of the people in whose country each race, each nationality enjoys equal rights and where the principal law is the well-being and dignity of man.

[1945]

ALONG THE ROADS OF TREASON

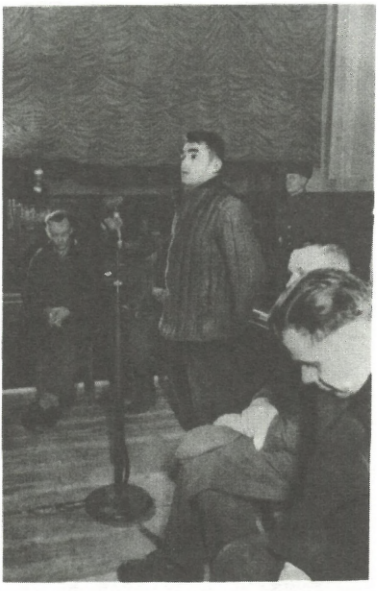
The chairman of a session of the Military Tribunal of the Ministry of Internal Affairs' forces pronounces the sentence: "Ten years imprisonment with confiscation of property."

The prisoner at the bar hurries out of the courtroom as if he were afraid that at the very last moment the court might detain him with the words: "The accused Olexandr Barvinsky has gotten off much too lightly. Let him sit down and listen to what representatives of the public have to say about the crimes he has committed. Let us hear out their sentences."

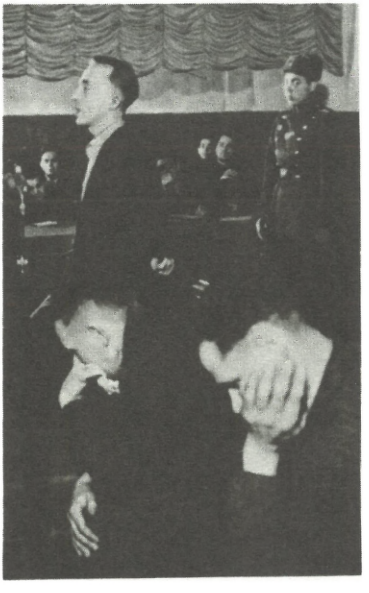
Doctor Olexandr Barvinsky is an offspring of the large family of Barvisnkys the patriarch of which is believed to have been the founder of the Galician section of the Austro-German Christian-Social Party which had among its leaders Loigher, godfather and inspirer of Adolf Hitler. Olexandr Barvinsky Sr. used to be the editor of the disreputable newspaper *Ruslan,* the organ of the most backward, the most reactionary and the most obsequious part of the Western Ukrainian bourgeoisie.

Like did not fail to beget like. Till 1939 Olexandr Barvinsky visited his patients, wrote out prescriptions, and during his

At a trial of traitors who served in nazi punitive units. In March 1959, in the Ukrainian town of Chervonoarmiysk, Rovno Region, five former members of the security service in the nationalist band Marka were brought to trial. From April 1943 to April 1944 they brutally killed or tortured to death dozens of civilians.



The butchers had lost not only face, but their human names as well. "Obukh" (The Head of an Ax; **top,** standing at the microphone), who served in the German police and at the same time was a combat group leader in the OUN security service (SB), confessed that he himself killed ten persons and his accomplice, an SB investigator whose alias was "Bliskavitsya" (Lightning), fifteen. When his turn came to give evidence, "Bliskavitsya" (**bottom,** standing at the microphone) said: "...All the defendants killed, tortured and plundered... I didn't count those we killed, but each night we used to kill several persons."



Opposite.
Yaroslav Halan (1902—1949).

Above. One of the last photographs of Yaroslav Halan (right) with a group of writers and journalists in the town of Ivano-Frankivsk, May 1949.

spare time, in default of *Ruslan,* he read the *Dilo* (The Cause) newspaper, his kindred spirit. Official duties often made him visit sick patients whose bodies had been turned into bloody jumble by Polish police clubs and Polish uhlan whips. Barvinsky uttered sorrowful sighs though there was no room in his heart for protest. The descendant of *Ruslan's* editor perceived the torturing of common folk as a normal occurrence legitimatized by God and tradition. It was, it is, and it always will be like this. Barvinsky's nationalist-clerical conscience could sleep undisturbed.

It was wakened in September 1939 by the arrival of the Red Army and the establishment of Soviet power in Western Ukraine. The blissful composure of Olexandr Barvinsky and all of his family was upset. First came a sensation of fear.

Its weight brought Barvinsky under. He turned into a courteously polite person with an obsequious smile on his lips, although the very sight of the red banner with a hammer and sickle on it brought him beside himself with rage.

Little by little Barvinsky made sure that fear makes mountains out of molehills. Now he could give vent to his hatred. Very soon an opportunity turned up. A German military repatriation commission arrived in Lviv. One of its members was the brother of Olexandr Barvinsky's wife (to be more exact she was the wife of composer Vasil Barvinsky, but let's better pass over this dirty triangle in silence), the renegade Hans Pului, an officer of the German security service. Barvinsky's family welcomed Hans like a dear and honored guest. A few days later, Barvinsky's flat was witness to an intimate family gathering: the hostess Natalia Barvinska accepted from her brother the title and duties of agent of the Hitlerite military counterespionage along with all the atributes of the post such as a pseudonym and so on. For tactical reasons Olexandr Barvinsky contained himself for some time, doing minor services for Hitler and his nationalist agents.

His time came at last: the Hitlerites invaded Lviv. Doctor Barvinsky felt a fresh surge of energy. On the day of a dreadful pogrom, Barvinsky, along with a group of supreme German officers, drove along the city streets overflown with the blood

of partisans. As a confidant and expert he had to confirm the rumors that the Soviets had allegedly fed the prisoners with human flesh. For a long time Barvinsky searched and searched through pots to find at long last... an ox skull.

The "mission" had failed but this didn't overshadow the doctor's joy for long. An hour later he could be seen at a sitting of Yaroslav Stetsko's "government." One of his pockets contained a document nominating him to the post of deputy for the "minister of health protection" Panchishin. The nomination had been signed by the *Führer* of Ukrainian nationalists himself, Stepan Bandera.

The "government" was in session for two days. As one of its members, Olexandr Barvinsky edited an appeal to Hitler in which they expressed their gratitude for the seizure of Lviv.

When the editing was over and the appeal signed and unanimously approved at a meeting of the nationalist intelligentsia, the Germans dismissed Stetsko's government as a useless one. This, however, did not mean that the nationalist "flower of the people" personified by Olexandr Barvinsky had now to whither away because of inactivity. The Banderite "minister," appointed by the Germans to be the head of the city health protection department, after a brief talk over the telephone, left his study and spent several days, sparing no efforts, in search for premises to accommodate German brothels. As Barvinsky later complained while on trial, the task was very difficult because the buildings needed for the purpose were to be new, of high quality, and with a corridor system. After fulfilling the task and having the inhabitants of four buildings thrown out onto the street, Olexandr Barvinsky began to "set the enterprise on its own feet" (his own words).

This time his own patients were the victims of his zealous endeavors. By Barvinsky's order, the best beds, tables and armchairs were transferred from hospitals and clinics to the establishments he had set up. But this was not enough for Barvinsky.

He additionally contributed much sacrificial efforts so that the Aryan soldiers, God forbid, did not pick up some bad disease.

The desk at which Yaroslav Halan was killed.

The OUN bandits left corpses and ruins behind themselves.

Above. Yaroslav Halan killed by the OUN terrorists.

Opposite. The bloodstained raincoat of Yaroslav Halan's murderer and the ax with which he struck the writer eleven times.

Top. Mikhailo Stakhur, the killer of Yaroslav Halan. Before committing this crime, Stakhur was already responsible for several acts of terrorism in villages of Noviy Irichiv District, Lviv Region. Giving his evidence in court, Stakhur said: "...The bandits told me to kill Halan and said it was necessary because Halan in his writings came out against the Ukrainian nationalists and the Vatican..."

Bottom. Roman Shchepansky (OUN alias "Bui Tur") came from a Uniate priest's family. Being at the head of the OUN Zhovkiv District leadership in Lviv Region, he personally prepared the terrorist act against Yaroslav Halan. During the investigation and trial, Shchepansky confessed that the bandits under his command killed 93 and mutilated 17 civilians and Soviet Army servicemen.

However, it wasn't the end of Doctor Barvinsky's "sanitation measures." One day, in the company of a German, he went out of town. The task facing him was simpler by far this time: he was to affirm that a few hundred corpses of Lviv residents shot by the nazis had been buried deep enough.

The public prosecutor asks the prisoner at the bar: "Did you know that the place where you went to was the site of a bloody massacre?"

"Bloody? No, the blood had already been covered with sand..."

The first month of German occupation passed. The aforementioned acts of this nationalist public figure did not satisfy his ambition any longer. He decided not to squander his talents on trifles. Olexandr Barvinsky made contact with the leaders of the Lviv Gestapo Schenk, Lasar and Steiner, and became an agent of the SD (security service). His principal task was to spy on medical workers and students of the doctors' training courses organized by the Germans in place of the Medical Institute they had closed down earlier. On Barvinsky's initiative the Germans arrested a number of outstanding scientists and shot most of them afterwards. Barvinsky proposed that the nazis take certain doctors hostage and made out a list of victims himself. He informed on anyone whom he considered to be an enemy of the Hitlerites, and with time he started informing even on those who were simply unlucky enough to provoke his dislike. No sooner did Professor Gzhitsky of the Veterinary Institute fire one of Barvinsky's relatives than Barvinsky gathered information against him and hurried off to the Gestapo.

Unusually active for his 50 years, Barvinsky patiently kept his eye on the building where Doctor Polyachkivna lived. He suspected she was linked with an anti-Hitlerite underground organization.

Time came and he made a signal to the Gestapo men. As a result, Doctor Polyachkivna died the death of a martyr in the hands of the nazi hangmen.

In the spring of 1943, the German Governor Wächter and his agents of the Kubijowytsch type organized the SS Division Halichina. Naturally this time they couldn't do without

Barvinsky either. Along with a German recruiting commission he went to Pokuttya. Driven together from everywhere to Kolomiya, more than 1,400 Hutsuls passed before him in the course of two days. Then he went to Kosiv. There he stayed the night at Wasilewska's boarding house. He almost fell asleep when he heard a car entering the villa's courtyard. The blood of a spy began to seethe within Barvinsky. His shortsightedness did not prevent him from discerning armed figures in the dark of the night, his memory fixed the fact that those people entered the kitchen and stayed there throughout most of the night.

At dawn Barvinsky hurried to *Hauptsturmführer* Schenk. The Germans staged a roundup with a tragic end for both Wasilewska and the partisans.

The fury of the "minister" the traitor did not know limits. His collaboration with the SD was not enough for him any more. Natalia Barvinska and two of her brothers, Hans and George Pului, willingly helped him and Barvinsky became an agent of German counterespionage, an agent of *Abwehrkommando* 102 with its headquarters in... Barvinsky's flat. Now Mr. Doctor had something to brag about: the *ober*-spy * Pului and the Petlurite Holub received *unter*-spies ** in his apartments. Olexandr Barvinsky, in collaboration with Natalia Barvinska and two of their sons, Ivan and Markiyan, engaged in recruiting those *unter*-spies. Later, when Pankevich fled the SS Division Halichina, and Halinyak ran away from the so-called Service to the Fatherland organization, both of them appealed to Mr. Minister for help. The "minister" treated them cordially, like a father, and, using blackmail succeeded in turning both men into obedient instruments of the *Abwehrkommandos* 102 and 106.

The competence of *Abwehr* was very broad and perfectly met Olexandr Barvinsky's innermost wishes. In the silence of his sturdy philistine building, information was collected and operation plans were designed, smelling of Soviet partisans' blood; here means and methods of crossing the front line by

* *Ober* (Ger.) — senior.

** *Unter* (Ger.) — junior.

German spies, saboteurs and terrorists were discussed, here Banderite bandits from the UPA were given instructions by their bosses from Kanaris' department.

Barvinsky did not do this without a profit. More than once a car loaded with sacks of sausages, sugar and flour pulled up in front of the building where the Barvinskys resided. It all went to the Barvinskys' larder and then onto their table. Depreciated during the war, Juda's 30 pieces of silver were now paid off in kind.

The day came when an empty car stopped by the windows of the Barvinskys' flat, but it was much too late to flee. Soviet troops had encircled Lviv, and the only road to the southwest was under Soviet artillery fire. The only way out was to cover up the traces.

And Olexandr Barvinsky set out to cover them up. He fell back on the methods of 1939: obliging courtesy sweetened with an ingratiating smile. Olexandr Barvinsky returned to his medical practice. In the hospital he received Soviet citizens, and at home their enemies, bandits from the UPA.

When Olexandr Barvinsky was finally put behind bars, Natalia Barvinska, staggered by the arrest of her husband according to law, took three revolvers out of a hiding place and gave them to a driver she was acquainted with, requesting him to hide or destroy them. It was the last link in the chain of infamy.

The history of the disgraceful Barvinsky family is a history which wouldn't have needed any commentaries if only the Barvinskys had been an exception. They are the classic fruit of Ruthenianism which in its time was crushingly and angrily ridiculed by Ivan Franko: *Botokudos,* * the meanest variety

* *Botokudos* — satirical poem (1880) by the outstanding Ukrainian poet, fiction writer, critic, journalist and public figure Ivan Franko (1856-1916), which ridicules the servility of the bourgeois-nationalist and clerical members of the Galician lower middle class to the Austrian authorities. Ruthenian (hence Ruthenianism) was a widely accepted name for the natives of the Ukrainian lands of Galicia, Bukovina and Carpatho-Ukraine.

of the bourgeoisie, from childhood infected by the poison of the lack of ideological principles and by venality. Oh, on their road of infamy, the Barvinskys were accompanied by adequate partners: Sembratovich, Romanchuk, Sheptitsky, Grushevsky, Petlura, Vinnichenko, the whole galaxy of Levitskys, Dontsov, Tselevich, Mudry, Konovalets and finally Melnyk and Bandera. Incidentally, who are they if not one and the same devil's excrement! Enjoying no support among the people, they looked for it wherever they could: on the steps of a magnate's coach, in the waiting room of Austrian viceregent, and, when the latter was abolished, in the corridors of the *Abwehr* and Gestapo. To them, their pocket and their carrier were synonymous with Homeland, and their patriotism with a servile ecstasy. When common folk were spoken about, disdain was the only emotion they felt. After the October Revolution, disdain was replaced by hatred.

Disguised by Levitskys and Sheptitskys, and openly manifested by Dontsovs and Malanyuks, this hatred obliterated the border between good and evil in their eyes once and for all. Long before Olexandr Barvinsky observed with an expert eye the common graves of the victims of the Hitlerite terror, *Decalogue of the Ukrainian Nationalist* appeared, and Dmitro Dontsov popularized the ethics of a bloodthirsty wolf and a perfidious fox among the young people. After the liberation of Western Ukraine, when the bastion of Ukrainian nationalism in Lviv was done away with, the last masks were discarded: the UNDO (Ukrainian National Democratic Union) members, as well as the radicals and social-democrats found refuge under the bloody banner of the fascists Melnyk and Bandera. This time they had a joint program. Their methods were also similar. Tens of thousands tortured to death, crucified children and women in Galicia and Volhynia, such was the dreadful illustration of those methods.

The document about Olexandr Barvinsky's appointment to the post of "deputy minister" has been lately discovered in a Banderite underground shelter. The doctor, called upon to save human life, came to be an accomplice of murderers...

People of Barvinsky's type are numbered here. However, that doesn't give us the right to underestimate the danger.

The Barvinskys alone caused hundreds of Soviet citizens to die. The damage they have done to our country is immeasurable.

Yesterday the yellow-blue fascists carried out Schenks, Knorrs and Puluis' assignments, today they act according to the instructions of Smiths, Howards and Guderian's intelligence service reorganized by American banks. Each of them is an enemy of our people and there is no clemency and no mercy in our hearts for anyone of them. Let the heavy and sharp sword of Soviet justice fall upon the heads of these agents of international reaction.

[1948]

Opposite.
Monument to Yaroslav Halan in Lviv.

Ярослав Александрович
ГАЛАН

ЧЕЛОВЕЧЕСТВО ПОМНИТ!

Памфлеты, статьи, репортажи

Составление текстов
Николая Григорьевича Жулинского

Составление фотоматериала
Валентина Ивановича Цуркана

Перевод с украинского

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"People hate them.
These bandits are doomed.
But we must not
be silent about them.
On the contrary,
we must tell the whole truth
about this fascist scum."

— Yaroslav Halan
THE BRANDED